Daily Report

East Europe

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FBIS-EEU-95-080 *26 April 1995*

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NOTICE TO READERS: This volume contains a representative selection of material previously disseminated in softcopy format.

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Berisha Irnvites Top Greek Leaders To Visit

NC2504131895 Athens Elliniki Radhiofonia Radio Network in Greek 1130 GMT 25 Apr 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Albanian President Sali Berisha is making a goodwill opening to Greece. In an interview published today in the Greek newspaper TA NEA, Sali Berisha invites both Prime Minister Andreas Papandreou and President Konstandinos Stefanopoulos to visit Tirana.

In his interview, Sali Berisha recognizes the important help given by Greece to Albania and expresses his determination to improve the relations between the two countries. He stresses that our future bilateral relations must constitute a model. He adds that our mutual interests based on cooperation and friendship outnumber our unsolved problems.

Moreover, the Albanian president said that, as an EU and NATO member, Greece has a historic chance to help the whole of the Balkan peninsula in its moves toward integration with Europe.

Finally, Sali Berisha noted his appreciation of the role and contribution of Archbishop Anastasios, and he promised the Greek minority that secondary schools will open wherever there is the necessary number of students, and without any restriction.

Interview With Berisha

NC2504185895 Athens TA NEA in Greek 25 Apr 95 pp 8-9

[Interview with Albanian President Sali Berisha by Kostas Papapetrou in Tirana on 21 April]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Papapetrou] Mr. President, after your private meeting with Foreign Minister Karolos Papoulias, how do you see the future of Greek-Albanian relations?

[Berisha] In an interview a few weeks ago, Prime Minister Andreas Papandreou stressed that these relations can and must form a pattern. I totally agree with Mr. Papandreou's assessment. The history of friendly relations between our two countries makes it completely feasible for the relations to be model relations, but I believe that the efforts we are making to join Europe create bigger margins for these relations.

We must look to the future. It is exactly these values and these interests—that is, the complete joining—that must determine the very good future of Greek-Albanian relations...

[Papapetrou] How do you evaluate Greece's role in relation to your presence in Europe?

[Berisha] I believe that Greece, being the only Balkan country which is an EU and NATO member, has a really historic chance to help in the process for joining with Europe, not only on the part of Albania but of the whole of the Balkans. Our peninsula, which is in a difficult period of disputes, needs more than anything else to be joined to Europe.

I also want the salvation of the peninsula from its reversions through history. Although it has a great culture, the cradle of European culture, today in the Balkans there are military struggles; there are disputes; there are inadmissible nationalisms. For this reason we must also see the salvation of the peninsula only in its being joined to Europe. Our borders must constitute symbols as they do in Europe.

As I have already told you, Greece has a historic opportunity to help the whole peninsula in this process of annexation.

[Papapetrou] Mr. President, could it be that the very fact of disputes in our neigbourhood makes the need for Greece and Albania to come nearer even more imperative?

[Berisha] Even at the most crucial moment, at the most delicate phase of misunderstanding between our two countries, my conviction in what you say—that it is imperative to come closer—was never shaken. We do not have problems that cannot be solved. All the problems existing between neighbors can be solved, and we do not have any problem that cannot be solved. On the other hand, the common interests arising from cooperation and friendship are greater than any problems that demand a solution. I am determined to have good relations with Greece.

[Papapetrou] So, do you consider that Mr. Papoulias' visit marks a new era in these relations?

[Berisha] Undoubtedly, a new page has opened in the relations between us. Foreign Minister Papoulias knows the Albanians and Albania. Not only I but our government as well believe that Papoulias has a correct conception of how important the relations between our two countries are. I have always appreciated his position on removing the belligerence and I am convinced that Papoulias played an important part in the rapprochement between our two countries. I said so to him personally at our recent meeting. I told him during our discussion that when you removed the belligerence, you did so to develop friendly relations with Albania.

[Papapetrou] There are many people who believe that the reasons that caused tension in the relations of our two countries at certain periods of time could have been avoided with the right dialogue...

[Berisha] I completely agree with that. Dialogue was and remains the most effective means. I have always been in favor of dialogue, be sure of this. Undoubtedly, dialogue is the best way to solve problems and remove misunderstandings. Strengthening the dialogue contributes to establishing closer friendship and cooperation.

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[Papapetrou] In this good climate of today, as you call it, would it be justified to ask if we must expect, in the near future, reciprocal leader visits to Athens and Tirana?

[Berisha] I would feel a great and special satisfaction in seeing [President Konstandinos] Stefanopoulos in Albania and I would also feel the same satisfaction in visiting Greece at a suitable time.

As I have already told Papoulias, we wish to see Mr. Papandreou in Albania.

I am convinced that this exchange of visits would affect positively the friendly relations and cooperation between our two countries. It would be a real impetus for very good relations...

[Papapetrou] Mr. President, do you agree that Greece, by accepting in one way or another the thousands of Albanians who continue to live and work in our country, has proved its good intentions for good-neighborly relations?

[Berisha] The hundreds of thousands of Albanians working in Greece write every day the book of friendship between the two countries; they endorse the treaty of friendship. Despite the ups and downs between our two countries over the past two or three years, I consider this factor—that is, the Albanians in Greece—as very important. I also believe that this will remain in the end in the history of friendly relations between our two countries. Remember what happened to us in 1990... We overthrew the most cruel and brutal dictatorship in Europe.

[Papapetrou] Greece has proposed to accept a large number of seasonal workers from Albania. Do you believe that this will solve, to some extent, the labor problem in our country or the illegal immigrant problem?

[Berisha] It is a very big help to Albania and I wish to emphasize this. You ask me a difficult question. Will the illegal immigrant problem be solved? There are two factors: Albania's economic level, which forces Albanians to immigrate. There is also a second factor, which is positive: Albania's rate of development, which is 8-11 percent. We talk about a very quick rate of development. I will consider Albania a developed country when the Albanians no longer emigrate. For this reason, the solution you have already mentioned does not give an answer to the illegal immigrant problem...

[Papapetrou] Democracy and religious freedom go together, and the Greeks have seen with pleasure the reconstitution of the Orthodox Autocephalous Church of Albania. Do you agree with its catalytic role so that our two peoples can come closer?

[Berisha] Albania is a country with three religious communities. I feel great joy when I see all three of them being reconstituted. For me, all three of them are sources of inspiration and enrichment of the Albanian soul. I appreciated and still appreciate the positive role of His Beatitude [Archbishop Anastasios] and his important contribution to the renaissance of the Orthodox Autocephalous Church of Albania. In Albania, religion is separate from the state. Of course, the state respects religious freedom fully.

[Papapetrou] What is your position on the issue of the Greek minority so that it will stop being a source of friction?

[Berisha] I am convinced that the existence of the Greek minority in Albania is a very important factor of friendship and cooperation between our two countries. It has made a valuable contribution to the overthrow of dictatorship.

It is not true that there was no discrimination against it during the dictatorship period. It has suffered. Today it enjoys the basic freedoms, which will expand continuously.

Let us take for example the problem of education. I have already said that wherever they wish to have secondary education schools we will open them, provided that the number of students is adequate, and without any restrictions. At Gjirokaster there is a university faculty. However, the problem is that the minority youths prefer Ioannina and Athens. The doors of the university here are open...

Furthermore, we will pass the law on private education. The law on private education is a basic point of the Democratic Party's program. I will also refer to another point: The Greek minority in Albania has developed a trend to be incorporated into Albanian society. I consider this very important, it is an advantage for them. They are responsible citizens. When somebody is hired in Albania, nobody asks about his origin. This is the reason you can today find Greek representatives in the Democratic Party, as well as ambassadors, ministers, judges, who come from the minority.

You must be convinced that they wholeheartedly love Greece, its language and culture, while equally loving Albania. We also have minority members in the Socialist Party. When I was opposition leader, the chief editor of the party's newspaper belonged to the minority and we struggled together.

[Papapetrou] To what degree do you think that the excellent relations you maintain with Turkey affect Greek-Albanian relations, taking into consideration the Greek-Turkish differences?

[Berisha] I think the relations between Greece and Turkey are of great importance for the Balkans. Undoubtedly, I wish that these relations would improve and develop into relations of friendship and close cooperation. I believe that here, as well, there are possibilities and the basis for such development, for such an approach. Our relations with Greece have their own basis and cannot be affected by Albania's relations with other states. Greece maintains good relations with Serbia

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and I am not bothered by that. On the contrary, I wish that Albania would benefit from these good Greek-Serbian relations. I do not support the concept that because you are a friend of somebody else you cannot be my friend as well. We have very good relations with Romania and they have good relations with Serbia. I consider this normal. With regard to Belgrade, I would appreciate it if the Greek Government would influence Slobodan Milosevic to open a dialogue with [Kosovo leader] Ibrahim Rugova, since I believe in dialogue...

[Papapetrou] There are extremist elements everywhere, as well as in Greece and Albania. Many people believe that extremist elements have entered the Albanian state mechanism. To what extent do you think these elements sometimes change the course you chart?

[Berisha] I think it is the duty of politicians to stand firmly against extremist and nationalistic elements. At first sight, these elements seem strong, but they are not. On what do I base what I am saying? I base it on the fact that the whole of public opinion in Greece as well as in Albania, Bulgaria, and elsewhere does not go along with the extremists. For this reason, it is very important that politicians have the courage to resist these elements. If the politicians remain firm, the extremist and nationalistic elements will be checked and confined to their real dimensions...

[Papapetrou] Mr. President, it is not only Greece that has problems with Skopje [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM]. Albania has problems as well and there are deputies of the ruling party who request that you reconsider your policy toward Skopje.

[Berisha] Albania is in favor of stability in "Macedonia." However, Albania would appreciate some conciliation on Skopje's part. We would wish for a solution to the problems between Greece and FYROM through compromise. Our view is that "Macedonia's" stability demands respect, harmony, freedom, human and national rights of the Albanians living there. I cannot imagine how a country can have stability if its citizens do not enjoy their rights...

[Papapetrou] As an EU member, Greece could offer even more toward resolving the problems faced by your country, and even some Greek investors could come to Albania. However, can this happen when today Greeks are the only EU members for whom the problem of visas imposed by you still exists?

[Berisha] There is no doubt that, within the framework of developing the relations between our two countries, the movement of investors and businessmen must be free. I believe that a strong economic cooperation with Greece is beneficial to Albania and it will prove this...

Interior Ministry Reports Another Border Slaying

AU2404184295 Paris AFP in English 1758 GMT 24 Apr 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Tirana, April 24 (AFP)—An Albanian national has been killed by border guards from the rump Yugoslavia as he tried to cross Albania's northern border with Montenegro, the Albanian Interior Ministry said Monday.

Kile Leke Ivanai [name as received], 27, and two other Albanians were crossing the border illegally Sunday morning near Brigje [name as received] in northern Albania when they were intercepted by guards, according to a Ministry statement.

The three men turned back to try and regain Albania territory, and were seven metres (yards) inside rump Yugoslavia when the soldiers opened fire, hitting Ivanai in the back, the statement quoted an expert commission which visited the site as saying.

Some 40 Albanians have been killed in the past three years on the border with rump Yugoslavia and with the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia [FYROM], according to the authorities in the Albanian capital, Tirana.

Berisha's Stand on Return of Agricultural Land

AU2504181195 Tirana REPUBLIKA in Albanian 25 Apr 95 pp 1-2

[Unattributed editorial: "No Generosity With Other People's Property, Mr. President"]

[FBIS Translated Text] During his visit to Korce for Orthodox Easter, President Berisha made it extremely clear once again that he has no intention of shedding old-fashioned ways of thinking as far as returning property to its rightful owners is concerned.

"However, it is understandable that we cannot return arable land to its owners," he said to a family in Korce. "The demographic movements that have taken place during these years must be remembered. I do not think that these few owners would wish to see a disaster for three quarters of the population," the president said, concluding the subject of the ownership of agricultural land.

First, the way in which the president seeks to excuse the nonrestitution of land to its rightful owners shows that he continues to judge according to the kind of ideas that led to Law 7,501, approved by the communist parliament in 1991. These ideas are the fruit of the socialist principle of "all Albanians becoming property owners," so similar to the communist phrase "property of the entire people." Moreover, it shows that the president is intending to do everything possible to push the criminal bill on the purchase and sale of land through the current neocommunist parliament, in order to banish any illusions among landowners.

Second, we do not know what statistics the president was referring to when he spoke of a "few owners" who have been adversely affected by the Land Law. These few owners are no more and no less than 87 percent of the

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population. The calculation is easy: Landless families alone have not experienced demographic growth. There we are, Mr. President.

Thirdly, the Land Law and its determined enforcement represent an approval of the mass expropriations conducted by the communist dictatorship, which will be given a kind of legitimacy when they are "perfected" by the bill on the purchase and sale of land.

Democracy indeed means respecting the will of the majority, but before we do this we must respect the rights and freedoms of individuals, among whom the right to property is fundamental.

Perhaps the president is trying to find a short cut here, taking an easy way out, or is attempting to rally the rural population round his party, luring them with other people's property. However, we feel it necessary to remind him here that the result of this will be a long chain of conflicts that will be much more widespread than the now-reviving blood feuds that the state is not showing itself capable of preventing. Nobody can feel safe on someone else's property. Half-baked laws are destined only to provoke conflicts. Do you know, Mr. President, that some of those who are taking the land of others also possess their own property, where land has been distributed according to the old boundaries? These people are not few in number. In addition, some of those who were dispossessed by the communist regime were moved to other places, to land or to houses, which must be returned to their former owners under existing legislation.

The stand taken by the president on his visit to Korce must be an alarm bell for all owners penalized by Law No. 7,501, and also for others, calling on them urgently to add their signatures to the petition against the bill on the purchase and sale of land.

Tourist Industry in 'Critical State'

AU2504174795 Tirana REPUBLIKA in Albanian 25 Apr 95 p 2

[Unattributed article: "Tourism Heads for Bankruptcy"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Tourism in Albania is in a critical state. In comparison to 1993, 1994 is showing much lower figures in all fields. If earnings from tourism were 820,000 leks in 1993, they fell to 490,000 leks in 1994. The responsible ministry tells you that this significant decline is a result of the lack of tourist-class hotels and other suitable conditions for foreigners between 1990 and 1993.

The first point is that Albania lacks a tourist atmosphere. People arriving in Albania cannot even find a safe car in which to travel. In 1994 alone, there were eight cases of tourists being kidnapped by "taxi drivers" between Rinas airport and Tirana, as well as several other cases on national highways. Tourists are sensitive to such things, and will quickly adjust the tourist map.

The conditions of our hotels are still far from suitable for tourists, even though some of them have been privatized. Besides 1,000 bedrooms throughout the country that have been somehow properly fitted out, there are 2,000 others in a poor state.

Tourists have to remain in Tirana and Llogara, because there is nowhere else to welcome them. In order to show what condition our hotels are in, we can quote a single figure. In 1994, our tourist hotels consumed a quantity of water to the value of 218,000 leks, compared to 474,000 leks in 1993. They were allocated the same quantity of water as that consumed by a five-floor apartment block in five days. This is perhaps the most vivid indicator of the kind of surroundings created for tourists.

Even though Albania is reckoned to be a country with major tourist potential and with a future in tourism development, this profitable sector has been virtually ignored. Private citizens and firms have lodged 24,000 applications for licenses and loans to create rooms for tourists in the towns of Kruje, Gjirokaster, Berat, Durres, and Vlore. However, not one of these has been approved. Perhaps this is where everything starts.

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Minister: No Arms Sold to Iran, Yugoslavia, Libya

AU2604102395 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 0900 GMT 26 Apr 95

[Article by Tsonya Subcheva on news conference by Industry Minister Kliment Vuchev in Sofia on 26 April—live]

[FBIS Translated Text] The debts of the military-industrial complex amount to 1.7 billion leva. Another 1.7 billion leva represent payments related to the bad credits of the complex.

Last year the enterprises of the military-industrial complex exported military production to the tune of $210 million. This is a negligible amount of money, Minister Vuchev said.

Others tried to enter our traditional markets—the minister added at the news conference—but this is not such a great problem. Unfair competition is a more serious problem. It predominantly takes the forms of compromising deals, reexport, and selling obsolete weapons at dumping prices.

It is the merchants who create the problems, while the industry itself suffers the consequences, the minister of industry said. The ministry actively participates in the battle for reshaping the military markets with a view to restoring old positions that have been lost. The ministry is not working with Iran, Yugoslavia, and Libya, and has no plans to work with those countries in anything related to partnership in the arms business. However, Syria is present and will continue to be present on the Bulgarian arms trade map. No opportunities will be missed, and in this area the Bulgarian Government will not take into consideration the opinions of others, regardless of how those opinions are expressed, Minister Vuchev categorically pointed out. He also expressed the ambition of the Ministry of Industry to improve the situation in the military production branch.

This afternoon the program of the Ministry of Industry will be reviewed at a special meeting of the Council of Ministers.

FRY Charge d'Affaires Conveys Letter to Pirinski

AU2604103395 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 0900 GMT 26 Apr 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The Ministry of Foreign Affairs has issued an official announcement on the meeting that took place yesterday evening between Foreign Minister Georgi Pirinski and Professor Radost Milkovic, charge d'affaires at the Embassy of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia [FRY].

The FRY diplomat conveyed to Minister Pirinski a letter from FRY Foreign Minister Vladislav Jovanovic, which contains the FRY Government's positive assessment of the joint statement by five countries, including Bulgaria, made in Athens and concerning the peaceful solution of the conflict in the former Yugoslavia and lifting the sanctions.

Videnov Meets With NATO, WEU Chiefs

AU2504202495 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1600 GMT 25 Apr 95

[Report by West Europe correspondent Aleksandur Vladkov from Brussels]

[FBIS Translated Text] Prime Minister Zhan Videnov arrived in Brussels this morning directly from Strasbourg and continued the series of important meetings that occupied his first official visit abroad as prime minister.

This morning, he held talks with WEU [Western European Union] Secretary General Jose Cutilheiro, with whom he discussed the possibilities for extending cooperation in the security field. According to Cutilheiro, Bulgaria's association with the WEU opens up far better and much more realistic opportunities for this.

At NATO Headquarters, Videnov was received by NATO Secretary General Willy Claes, after which he held talks with the permanent representatives of the NATO member countries in Brussels. In a press statement Videnov expressed his satisfaction with the talks and declared: We are in good company. Mr. Claes and the permanent representatives of the NATO member countries also consider that the expansion of the Alliance to the east is a long-term process that is linked both with the changes taking place in the East European countries and with the reforms needed within the Alliance to enable it to play its role not so much as a defense pact but as a Euro-Atlantic collective security structure.

Videnov reconfirmed his government's thesis that Bulgaria does not want to solve its security problems to the detriment of third countries. In answer to a question, he added that in using the term third countries, he had in mind not only Russia but also countries like Ukraine and other countries of the former Soviet Union, as well as the traditionally neutral European countries.

For his part, NATO's secretary general gave a positive assessment to our participation in the Partnership for Peace program, commenting that, just as no country can claim the right to veto the Alliance's decisions, so should NATO not take overly hasty steps that might lead to a new division in Europe or to the isolation of individual countries.

A short while ago Prime Minister Videnov had a meeting at the EU with Jacques Santer, chairman of the European Commission. He briefed Mr. Santer on the government's intentions to accelerate the reforms in Bulgaria as a prerequisite for our drawing closer to the EU more quickly, and voiced the hope that the talks on Bulgaria's becoming a full EU member may commence immediately following the intergovernmental conference in 1996.

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Calls European Visit Successful

AU2604072295 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 0400 GMT 26 Apr 95

[FBIS Translated Text] I think the visit to Strasbourg and Brussels was very successful, Prime Minister Zhan Videnov said upon his return to Sofia shortly before midnight yesterday. This is how he summarized the results of his European premiere—the meetings in Strasbourg in Brussels—in an interview for Khorizont Radio Network:

[Begin recording] This was a good beginning of the new Bulgarian Government's foreign policy activity, which undoubtedly and fully coincided with the European priorities of its policy. I think we presented the Bulgarian cause well at the Council of Europe, NATO, the West European Union, and the European Community. All this is a good foundation for further real steps in the future. Indeed, those steps will not be delayed. Most intensive contacts with the aforementioned organizations are envisaged both in Sofia and abroad. [end recording]

Military Counterintelligence May Be Under MVR

95P20744A Sofia BULGARSKA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 14 Apr 95 pp 1, 3

[Article by Evelina Koleva: "Minister Nachev Places a Request: Military Counterintelligence To Be Moved to MVR"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Yesterday, Minister of Interior Lyubomir Nachev launched a bombshell yesterday just before the Council of Ministers' meeting began when he said that military counterintelligence should be placed under the control of the MVR [Ministry of Internal Affairs]. In his opinion, a small country like Bulgaria could not have two counterintelligence services: Military Counterintelligence and the National Security Service. If the MVR assumed control over the organization which is currently in the MO [Ministry of Defense], it would be in the interests of the country. Mr. Nachev will discuss this issue with Minister of Defense Dimitur Pavlov. The Minister of Interior said that he anticipated the opposition of the general staff.

In contradiction to the principle of one-man command, the regional directors of the ministry of internal affairs are only coordinators of their own local services instead of directly guiding the police, firefighting service, the units for the struggle with organized crime, and, in the border regions, the activity of the border troops, maintained Mr. Nachev. For that reason, he believes, it is necessary to amend Article 51 of the structural law of the MVR which delineates the functions of the regional directors. Next week, the MVR will make important personnel decisions in connection with the tragic death of Khristo Khristov in the 7th Sofia RPU [regional police administration], while today an inquiry into the case is being concluded. The whirlwind of personnel changes will extend even up to the regional directors after examinations are completed. A new variation of the internal administrative decree, Number 2, of the MVR will facilitate procedures for imposing penalities on uniformed officials, Mr. Nachev announced.

As of yesterday, the interdepartmental council on questions of the military-industrial complex and mobilization readiness of the country has new members: Stoyan Todorov, deputy minister of industry, Ivan Khristov, deputy minister of foreign affairs, and Stanislav Velinov, deputy minister of transportation. Veselin Vulchev was named chairman of the Committee on Youth and Children, and Khristo Khristov was appointed head of the Committee for Physical Education and Sports.

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Ukrainian President Begins Visit to Prague

LD2504124295 Prague Radiozurnal Radio Network in Czech 1200 GMT 25 Apr 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Ukrainian President Leonid Kuchma began his two-day official state visit to the Czech Republic with an arrival ceremony at Prague Castle. Following a welcome by President Vaclav Havel, the two statesmen went into the castle for private talks. After the talks, Presidents Havel and Kuchma will give a brief statement to journalists.

In the afternoon the Ukrainian guest will visit the Old Town Hall and will lay a wreath at the St. Wenceslas statue. In the evening, he will meet with Prime Minister Vaclav Klaus in the Villa Kramar.

Talks Economics With Havel

LD2504143695 Prague Radiozurnal Radio Network in Czech 1400 GMT 25 Apr 95

[FBIS Translated Text] After his talks with President Leonid Kuchma, President Vaclav Havel expressed support for Ukraine's joining the Council of Europe. The two statesmen's discussion focused mainly on economic problems. One of the examples is the agreement on importing some strategic raw materials to the Czech Republic through Ukrainian territory. Leonid Kuchma praised the state of mutual relations, which will be further enhanced by the treaty on friendship and mutual assistance that will be signed by the two presidents tomorrow.

Klaus Views Cooperation

LD2604092095 Prague Radiozurnal Radio Network in Czech 0500 GMT 26 Apr 95

[FBIS Translated Text] There are no problems between the Czech Republic and Ukraine related to the division of undertakings that remained after the former Soviet Union. However, there is still some confusion regarding Czech-Ukrainian joint ventures involved in natural gas, Czech Prime Minister Vaclav Klaus said after his meeting with Ukrainian President Leonid Kuchma on 25 April. Klaus also said that our side promised Ukraine expert assistance in the transformation of the economic system.

The prime minister also mentioned the prospects for relations between the two countries.

[Begin Klaus recording] We would like to continue removing, on a bilateral basis, all customs and noncustoms barriers. Once Ukraine joins GATT or the new post-GATT organization, there will be no reason, I think, for not opening discussions on removing customs and noncustoms barriers and coming closer to the situation when we shall be able to set up free trade zones, which is what we are also aiming at with regard to other countries. There is certainly no reason for leaving Ukraine out on a long-term basis. [end recording]

Klaus on Party Merger, Forthcoming U.S. Visit

LD2504223895 Prague Radiozurnal Radio Network in Czech 1617 GMT 25 Apr 95

[Interview with Prime Minister Vaclav Klaus by Lucie Weissova on 25 April; place not given—recorded]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Weissova] Prime Minister, this morning you had talks with Christian Democratic Party [KDS] representatives about a possible merger [with the Civic Democratic Party, ODS]. Did the talks yield any agreement, or were these just the first in a series of talks to follow?

[Klaus] This was undoubtedly one of a series of meetings. [passage omitted]

Because the basic political will exists, I think that within a month we could sign a merger memorandum. This would open up the first stage of the merger that would culminate with the congresses of these two political parties in the fall of this year. They would be followed by a second stage or perhaps an in-between stage, during which a full merger would still not be accomplished. The duration of this stage is currently being discussed, and our remaining talks will also concern its duration. Finally, there should be a third stage, in which we should start existing normally as one political party. Thus, it is just the details of the second stage that will be discussed (?at some length), but I think we have gotten the ball rolling.

[Weissova] Can it be said that you have already agreed on the shape this process should take?

[Klaus] I would tend to say exactly what I have already said, without putting special emphasis on any aspect.

[Weissova] Justice Minister Jiri Novak yesterday dismissed Prison Service Director General Karabec and the director of Horni Slavkov and his deputy. This took place in connection with the investigation into the death of Frantisek Kahanek, suspected of murdering a 10-year-old boy. This tough measure is a sign that the situation in our prison system appears to be worse than we thought, that the Kahanek case may not even be the only case. [passage omitted]

[Klaus] I personally very much welcome the fact that the justice minister opted for this radical and tough decision. I personally instigated it, and I think this is a clear sign that the minister intends to resolve and finalize this matter as he sees fit and that he wants to draw fundamental conclusions from it. So the way I see things is that this is not a result of the poor state of our prison system but a part of the process of this system's transformation.

[Weissova] On 30 April you will be leaving for the United States. Your most important engagement will undoubtedly be your meeting with President Bill Clinton. What will you be discussing?

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[Klaus] First, because some time has elapsed, a formal visit at this level is necessary to confirm that relations between our two countries are, in my view, as good as they could be. I will be discussing this also with other representatives of the U.S. Administration and Congress.

Also extremely important in today's open integrating world are opinions on international questions, foreign policy questions, questions of global security, of our security, and so on. We will undoubtedly also discuss NATO enlargement, which is one of our themes, and we will be talking about membership in other organizations such as the OECD, and so on. Those are, I think, the main issues.

[Weissova] You say that relations with the United States are very good or, indeed, excellent, but are they not occasionally tarnished by criticism from certain influential congressmen? I am thinking of, for example, objections to the law on acquiring citizenship or the restitution of Jewish property. Do you think these matters will also be discussed during your visit to the United States?

[Klaus] Without a doubt. I have not the slightest reason, on the one hand, to keep silent over certain matters and, on the other, not to explain them. I think we took advantage of the fact that Parliament Chairman Milan Uhde went to the United States at the time the first letter about acquiring Czech citizenship was sent, and I think, at least on the basis of the information available to me, that it was clearly confirmed that the authors of the letter were not well informed about the genuine situation in our country. I think we succeeded in allaying the concerns of U.S. congressmen.

If it is at all possible to allay their concerns about the complicated question of coming to terms with the past, to which as we all know there is no trivial or simple solution, I shall certainly be glad to do so. [passage omitted]

CSSD Congress Elects New Party Executive; Zeman Reelected

AU2504121895 Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech 24 Apr 95 p 1

[Article by Martin Manak: "Zeman To Face Klaus"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The reelected chairman of the Czech Social Democratic Party [CSSD], Milos Zeman, intends to run in the parliamentary elections next year in northern Moravia against Civic Democratic Party head Vaclav Klaus. Zeman made this statement at the CSSD congress in Bohumin yesterday.

On Saturday, Zeman was again confirmed in the post of CSSD chairman. He received 314 of the 374 votes. There will be also two women among the five deputy chairmen. Kvetoslava Korinkova, federal former minister of control and former Civic Movement member, and Deputy Petra Buzkova were elected in the first round, with 222 and 242 votes, respectively. Petr Moravek, Karel Machovec, head of the CSSD Commission for Agricultue, and Deputy Vaclav Grulich were successful in subsequent rounds. There were 11 candidates in all for the post of deputy chairman.

The social democrats approved the election program "Society of Education, Participation, and Solidarity." "We are the first Czech political party to display our goods," the party chairman commented on the adoption of the program. Nevertheless, the program will take on its definitive form only in January, at the CSSD program conference.

Some delegates criticized the program. "It promises absolutely everything to everyone but does not actually offer anything at all," delegate Miloslav Ludvik stated.

The CSSD also certified the validity of the Hradec congress resolution on the inadmissibility of cooperation with extremist parties like Sladek's republicans, the Moravian National Party, the communists, the Left Bloc, and the Party of the Democratic Left. After a heated debate, this list was expanded by Stepan's Party of Czechoslovak Communists. It is, above all, a signal to Ortmans and Mecls, who are constantly attempting a collective entry of their parties into the CSSD," Petra Buzkova said. Chairman Zeman said that the Left Bloc and the Party of the Democratic Left members can apply for CSSD membership individually.

The delegates rejected the report on the party's economic results prepared by Secretary Ivan Havlicek. The social democrats currently have debts of some 80 million korunas.

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Special Container Used To Smuggle Uranium

LD2504120795 Prague Radiozurnal Radio Network in Czech 1100 GMT 25 Apr 95

[FBIS Translated Text] A lead container with steel casing designed for transporting nuclear materials, which the Slovak police detained together with nine perpetrators last week, was empty at first glance but was strongly contaminated with radionuclides with high radiation energy. The contamination drew attention away from the bottom of the container, where the lead lining was replaced by more than 18 kg of uranium 238. This was confirmed by the specialists' report of the Civil Defense Chemical Laboratory in Jasov in East Slovakia.

Within the next few days, the container will be taken to the Nuclear Power Research Institute in Jaslovske Bohunice for further expert assessment.

GS Chief Leaves for NATO Meeting in Brussels

LD2504125695 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1000 GMT 25 Apr 95

[FBIS Translated Text] At the invitation of George Joulwan, NATO supreme allied commander for Europe, Lieutenant General Jozef Tuchyna, chief of the Slovak Army General Staff, left this morning for his three-day working visit to Brussels.

During the working visit to Belgium, Gen. Tuchyna will take part in the official meeting of the chiefs of the General Staff of the North Atlantic Council for Cooperation in Brussels. The meeting is expected to cover the mechanisms applied in NATO within Partnership for Peace, the tasks of its coordination center, and the experiences gathered in the military exercises and peacekeeping operations. The agenda also involves coordination of planning and tighter cooperation.

Later in his stay, Gen. Tuchyna will take part in the SAPAX 95 conference in Mons. The main issue at the conference will be the joint military exercise.

Kovac Views President's Status, Basic Treaty

AU2504194495 Prague TYDEN in Czech No 15, 10 Apr 95 pp 21-23

[Interview with Slovak President Michal Kovac by Milan Zitny, Karel Hvizdala, and Michal Ruzicka in Bratislava on 4 April: "Toward Democracy or Totalitarianism?"]

[FBIS Translated Text] [TYDEN] Mr. President, we had just arrived in Bratislava when we heard that a sizable faction intended to split from Luptak's parliamentary club and the coalition would thus lose its majority. Apparently, however, Carnogursky's KDH [Christian Democratic Movement] is offering it its votes. What do you think of this?

[Kovac] In view of the fact that the Association of Workers of Slovakia is a new political entity that is just constituting itself, such problems were to be anticipated. At the moment, this does not endanger the majority necessary to approve laws; of course, this certainly harbingers possible difficulties. I would like domestic political development to stabilize, because this is an important prerequisite for resolving all the issues associated with the Slovak Republic's integration into the European Union and, eventually, NATO.

[TYDEN] Is it really possible for Carnogursky's KDH to enter the coalition?

[Kovac] Chairman Carnogursky declared recently that he is also willing to support a minority government. If Mr. Meciar were to find himself in a minority and his coalition partners were to leave the coalition, the KDH could support the HZDS [Movement for a Democratic Slovakia]. The Christian Democrats also discussed this possibility prior to the formation of the coalition government. Now, however, this is conditional upon certain requirements.

[TYDEN] One of these was that HZDS politicians stop attacking you and that the president's term of office is not shortened. Does this mean that the HZDS is no longer striving for your resignation?

[Kovac] Let us say that, if this were the case, one of these requirements would have been fulfilled. But, as far as I know, parliament is, on the other hand, to discuss the report of the investigative commission looking into the method of and reasons for Vladimir Meciar's recall from the post of prime minister. And, the discussion of this report is associated with the status of the president. In other words: We will see what the goal of this report is; whether to ascertain the real systemic causes of the crisis or to seek a specific culprit with regard to the vote of no confidence in the old government and the formation of a new government in 1994.

[TYDEN] In any case, there is an obvious attempt to rid you of certain powers. Recently, for instance, the right to appoint the director of the Slovak Information Service [SIS].

[Kovac] You are right. It says nothing in the government's policy statement about changing the president's status. But, in the approval of recent laws, something has taken place that could be called an attempt to transfer certain presidential powers to the government, moreover, with the assistance of ordinary laws and not constitutional ones. This concerns the appointment of the SIS director, the appointment of the chairman of the Academy, and the appointment of the chairman of the Statistical Office. I consider this to be at variance with the Constitution, and I have objected to it. It is possible to abuse executive power if just one person has too much authority—whether it is the president or the prime minister. Perhaps, similar attempts will be made again; I, as president, have no chance of preventing this. This is a shortcoming in our Constitution; the president can return a law only once and, in a repeat vote, if necessary

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a lower number of votes—not, vice versa, a higher number—is sufficient to confirm the returned law.

[TYDEN] The disputes about which powers fall to the government and which to the president must stem from something. Does this involve an attempt by the governing coalition to assume more power for itself than is usual or does it concern the relationship between two men—Mr. Meciar and Mr. Kovac?

[Kovac] If you look at the situation in Central Europe, you will see that there is some dispute between the government and the president in almost every country. Mr. Meciar's views on the kind of role the Slovak president plays were obviously different from the one defined by the Constitution—even though he himself played a major role in its formulation.

The first group of problems derives from various interpretations, the secord from the ongoing undeclared competition over who will exert influence, and what kind, in this or that sphere of executive power. Much also depends on the characteristic traits of the people involved (one person does not have the ambition to concentrate power, another has it). In addition to the tensions that arise for other reasons, this may then bring something more, a kind of new dimension that does not have to be pleasant or useful. In my view, however, it is necessary to consider, even in such circumstances, that certain tension is desirable objectively, because it creates the need for agreement and mutual control.

[TYDEN] You caused the resignation of Meciar's government by your speech in parliament last year. How do you view this today? Was is wise, or did you make a mistake since the elections turned out the way they did?

[Kovac] I disagree with the way the question is put. Namely, if Vladimir Meciar had had enough votes, I could have come out with whatever kind of criticism of his style of government, and nothing would have happened. The problem was that Mr. Meciar was, at that time, unable to keep the HZDS deputies together. He was unable to prevent some of the deputies leaving, first behind Knazko and then with Moravcik, which left him in a minority. We should not subjectivize some things too much.

[TYDEN] Notwithstanding, let us put forth a different situation. Namely, that Mr. Meciar's government was in the minority and the parliamentary opposition was in the majority. This would merely limit the room for maneuver to make sure that the government did not do more damage. Today, we see that privatization has reached an impasse and, for example, the rather brutal way the current governing team is settling accounts with you is damaging Slovakia not only at home, but also abroad...

[Kovac] Yes, with the passing of time, I agree with you. But, everything depended on how the KDH deputies, the SDL [Party of the Democratic Left], the Knazkoites, and the Hungarian deputies voted. They decided in favor of this solution and perhaps they are now saying: We should have expressed confidence in Mr. Meciar's government; his government could have functioned as a minority one, which would have been forced to negotiate with us on everything from case to case. Similarly, they did not have to agree to early elections. After no confidence was expressed in Mr. Meciar's government, I asked the HZDS to form another one. The HZDS refused, however, and what had to happen happened.

[TYDEN] Nevertheless, in the given situation, the opposition deputies obviously could not act otherwise. After your speech, they were seen in parliament clasping their heads in their hands and saying: We cannot abandon the president now...

[Kovac] But they would have stood behind me even if they had not expressed no confidence in the government. Because somehow or other, in their further steps, they could have held the government, as they say, in any kind of rein they felt like. So, perhaps this really was short-sighted thinking.

[TYDEN] Our conversation concerns, principally, democracy in Slovakia. President Vaclav Havel recently expressed a certain concern about its fate. Do you also share his concern?

[Kovac] At the moment, democracy is fragile in all the postcommunist countries. It is hard to gauge where it is more fragile and where less. It is fragile because it has not yet penetrated the citizens' consciousness and behavior. Therefore, I think that it is correct when those who embraced democracy earlier are sensitive and react to the kind of things that seem to them to be at variance with democracy.

[TYDEN] Do you agree with Prime Minister Meciar that Vaclav Havel maligned Slovakia by expressing his concern, or not? In your opinion, should the Czech side even apologize?

[Kovac] I do not think that it is appropriate for me to assess this aspect of the matter. But, I understand that we have to slowly get used to the fact that not only neighboring countries, but also more distant ones are interested in whether development in this or that state is oriented toward democracy or totalitarianism. The issue of democracy and human rights and freedoms is a matter for the wider community as a whole. If someone points out amicably to another country that he does not like the look of this or that, I do not perceive this negatively at all.

[TYDEN] You spoke at the beginning about entry into the EU and NATO. You received the head of Russian intelligence, Primakov, recently; General Lobov, who discussed arms production and supplies, was here; and Russian Prime Minister Chernomyrdin has also visited you. It appears to be more the other way round: First, orientation toward the East, then toward the West. Is this the case?

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[Kovac] Not at all. The only thing is, whenever something happens in Hungary or Poland, it is viewed completely differently than when it happens in Slovakia. After all, today it is impossible to conduct a kind of cabinet and ambiguous policy. When they received Lobov, Primakov, or Chernomyrdin, normal cooperation issues between two, today very distant, countries were discussed.

[TYDEN] From what, in your opinion, do the differing assessments of Slovakia stem?

[Kovac] From a certain wariness and our country's geographical position. When you look at the map, you can imagine that it could be of concern to someone if this wedge were to lie in his sphere of interest.

[TYDEN] However, opinions oriented clearly against entry into Europe and NATO are being expressed directly from the governing coalition—from Mr. Luptak's party.

[Kovac] These are only his opinions. The government's policy statement was also approved by his party's representatives. It is necessary to get used to the fact that such a form of coalition can exist in which certain political entities have their own political programs, but renounce them for the period they are in the coalition and give their vote to something else.

[TYDEN] Despite this, let us recall the recent treaty with Hungary. It had just been signed in Paris and doubt was immediately cast on it. Are these not the reasons that lead to wariness of Slovakia?

[Kovac] Provided parliament ratifies the treaty, this will be proof that it is necessary to view these opinions as a political game played by certain political entities that want to maintain a specific face despite the fact that, at the decisive moment, they made a different decision.

[TYDEN] This treaty was of unusual interest to the West. The attempt to convince Slovakia that it belongs to western Europe is an indication of this. Despite this, the agreement may, even after it is ratified, bring further problems: Its interpretation is imprecise. What do you think of this?

[Kovac] Certainly, but do not forget that the Slovak-Hungarian treaty contains some 23 articles and only one subclause is contentious. Difficulties may arise regarding the demands for autonomy from the Hungarian minority and in the interpretation of Council of Europe Recommendation No. 1201. But, we know that, in this matter, the Hungarian minority will not have the support of either the Hungarian Government or the international community. A possible dispute will remain within this country and it will resolve itself in time.

Kovac: Democracy Not Developing in Right Direction

AU2504135995 Bratislava SME in Slovak 22 Apr 95 p 1

[Article by Miriam Mrizova and Vaclav Pankovcin: "President Michal Kovac Confirmed Again That He Has a Conflict Not With the Government but With Vladimir Meciar"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] The discussion was opened by the president: "Tell me which problems in Slovakia annoy you most." Someone from the auditorium shouted: "Meciar!" This is how Michal Kovac's 20 April meeting with university students in the Ludovit Stur dormitory in Bratislava started. [passage omitted] Vladimir Stefko, the president's spokesman, said at the outset of the meeting that no topics would be considered taboo in Michal Kovac's debate with the young people. [passage omitted] President Michal Kovac made some important statements. He confirmed once again that he did not have confidence in Ivan Lexa as chief of the Slovak Information Service. He also refuted accusations that have been raised against Michal K. Jr.: "Michal K. Jr. has nothing in common with the case described in the daily SLOVENSKA REPUBLIKA [on the alleged involvement of the president's son in a $2 million fraud being investigated by German authorities]," the president said. He also commented on his relationship with the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia and Prime Minister Meciar. "I do not have a conflict with the government," Michal Kovac said, "but with the prime minister. It does not involve personal antipathy but a different approach to the enactment of executive power in a democratic society." [passage omitted]

One law student was not satisfied with Michal Kovac's replies. He asked him, among other things, why he did not "rebut Vaclav Havel's concern about the development of democracy in Slovakia." "I do not think that democracy in Slovakia is developing in the right direction and, therefore, cannot convince the president of the Czech Republic about something about which I am not convinced myself," Michal Kovac replied. [passage omitted]

Kovac on Financing Minorities' Cultural Activities

AU2504153095 Bratislava SME in Slovak 22 Apr 95 p 2

[Article by "dos": "M. Kovac—The Status of Minorities Demonstrates the Degree of Openness of the Ethnic Majority"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Bratislava—Financing the cultural activities of ethnic minorities was the main topic of the meeting yesterday between Slovak President Michal Kovac and the representatives of 10 ethnic cultural associations in the Slovak Republic. According to Presidential Spokesman Vladimir Stefko, all the representatives expressed considerable dissatisfaction not only because of the reduction of subsidies for ethnic culture, but also because, to this day, they do not know how

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much money they will get, and when will they get it. Kovac was critical of the cuts in funds for ethnic culture, and spoke in favor of drafting clear rules for financing the cultural activities of ethnic minorities, which would be independent of changes on the political scene. The president expressed his conviction that the "actual status of ethnic minorities and the extent that their rights are guaranteed by laws demonstrate the degree of openness, tolerance, and practical accessibility on the part of the ethnic majority and particularly the state bodies, confirm, or refute, the verbal declarations, by means of which the representatives of the ethnic majority endorse democracy and the principles of freedom and equality, and the observation of human and civic rights, including the rights of minorities." Several representatives of the cultural associations expressed their dissatisfaction with the repeated unwillingness on the part of the relevant employees of the Ministry of Culture to discuss with them the problems of financing minority culture. The representatives of the Hungarian association CSEMADOK reported that, as a result of a delay at the Ministry of Culture in transferring the assigned funds, three Hungarian journals folded, and others face a similar fate. Kovac expressed his agreement in principle with bilingual education. It would have to be, however, on a purely voluntary basis, and not established to the detriment of monolingual ethnic education. At the meeting, the president rejected the idea of territorial autonomy on the ethnic principle. He spoke in favor of a substantial reinforcement of local self-administration, an organization of territorial self-administrative entities with respect to the geographical, demographic, transportation, economic, historic, and ethnic features without absolutizing or underestimating any of them.

Meciar's 'Silence' About SNS 'Extremists'

AU2504181095

[FBIS Editorial Report] Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak on 22 April and Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak on 24 April both publish commentaries expressing surprise at the failure of Vladimir Meciar, prime minister and Movement for a Democratic Slovakia (HZDS) chairman, to dissociate himself from the "extremist" positions of his coalition partner Slovak National Party (SNS) and from the SNS leaders' "hidden propaganda of fascism."

Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak on 22 April on page 3 carries a 700-word commentary by Martin Krno entitled "Lethargy Tends To Be Dangerous." While Krno concedes that there are no arson attacks on foreign laborers and no racially motivated murders in Slovakia, he believes that "racism, xenophobia, anti-Semitism, and intolerance slumber at a deeper level, hidden by gung ho patriotic slogans." This is all the more dangerous, he continues, "as, unlike in France or Germany, it is not a handful of extremists that stands behind this. In Slovakia, the chairman of a ruling party (reference to SNS Chairman Jan Slota) declares at a public rally that he will see to it that all Jewish and Romany families disappear from the city where he is mayor. A minister (reference to Education Minister Eva Slavkovska), a historian by original profession, participates in the pompous opening of an exhibition that glorifies the leader of the fascist regime in Slovakia during World War II. In parliament, a deputy for the same political party, when reacting to the charge of neofascism, pays tribute to the same 'personality.' At the same time, he and his party colleagues do not even dissociate themselves from neofascism because, apparently, they are proud of this label.

"And what about the other partners from the government coalition, partners who, until recently, identified themselves with the traditions of antifascist resistance and voted for 29 August (anniversary of Slovak National Uprising) as our republic's national day? HZDS deputies rewarded Vitazoslav Moric's heartfelt declaration of love for Dr. Jozef Tiso with applause. Jan Luptak, who used to speak about his close relatives who were direct participants in the antifascist uprising, is silent. As a matter of fact, he has been silent out of principle for a few months now—whenever he was expected to 'uphold' principles that his association had brandished during the election campaign."

In concluding, Krno criticizes an exhibition currently being held in the Slovak Heritage Foundation's museum in Bratislava, devoted to Jozef Tiso's years in exile after World War II, which Krno qualifies as "hidden propaganda of fascism." He considers this exhibition to be "another trial balloon, following the unsuccessful attempt to unveil a plaque for Jozef Tiso at Banovce nad Bebravou, designed to test how bitter a pill the Slovak and international public are ready to swallow." Krno points out that the exhibition is organized by a state-subsidized institution and deplores that activists of the Human organization, who staged a protest against the exhibition last week, "had been escorted to the police station almost like criminals." He expresses the hope that the Human action "will awaken us from lethargy, which is dangerous today, on the eve of the 50th anniversary of victory over fascism."

Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak on 24 April on page 3 carries a 1,800-word commentary by Julius Gembicky entitled "How Much Longer Will the HZDS Tolerate the SNS's Admiration for Tiso?" Gembicky believes that, when attending the celebrations of the 50th anniversary of victory over fascism in Moscow later this spring, Prime Minister Meciar "will not be able to avoid answering some awkward questions from his partners in Moscow. The most delicate of them will concern his tolerance of, or incomprehensible silence in the face of, some extremist views of his coalition partners, particularly SNS Chairman J. Slota, Deputy V. Moric, and Education Minister E. Slavkovska, whose presence at the opening of the exhibition on Altoetting, place of pilgrimage in Bavaria where Jozef Tiso had been hiding after the war, at the very least calls for an explanation from Vladimir Meciar." Gembicky continues: "If, on the

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one hand, the prime minister refuses to give an extensive interview to NARODNA OBRODA because he does not intend to communicate with the editors of a daily that publishes quotes from Hitler's *Mein Kampf* (which we did after the parliamentary night of 3-4 November), and if HZDS deputy and freshly appointed Slovak Information Service Director Ivan Lexa even files a complaint with the General Prosecutor's Office against our editorial office, how come that the prime minister does not reject official coalition cooperation with the SNS, whose representatives do not hide their admiration for Jozef Tiso? Is it perhaps reprehensible propaganda of fascism when someone, by quoting from Hitler's biography, warns against dangerous strong-arm practices striking root in our life, or do specific statements or steps by (SNS) deputies and a minister constitute such propaganda, statements and steps that not only did not prompt the tenderhearted HZDS to file any charges with the prosecutor, but to which it is loyally silent?"

Gembicky points out that "the SNS, with its extremists steps, trips the feet of its stronger coalition partner and complicates Vladimir Meciar's already difficult position abroad" and wonders why even those in the HZDS who "clearly stand on an antifascist opinion platform" are silent.

Russian No to Gas Pipeline Setback for Meciar

AU2604120095 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 25 Apr 95 p 1

[Commentary by Ivan Horsky: "Vision or Wish?"]

[FBIS Translated Text] For a long time, there was silence regarding a branch of the gas pipeline running from the Yamal peninsula through Belarus and Poland to Germany that was to lead through Slovakia on to the south of Europe. Nevertheless, during his working visit to Italy Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar discussed this matter with representatives of the Italian state-owned concern ENI. Meciar presented this project as being in the Italians' interest, as it would shorten transport of gas to the Apennine peninsula and thereby also lower its price.

However, in an interview for the Slovak daily PRAVDA, Rem Vyachirev, chief of the Russian Gazprom company, literally said: "There will be no extra pipes. True, the Slovak side has been periodically submitting such a proposal, but, for the time being, it has not come up with an economic justification for it. The new pipeline branches out in Germany, and there are routes that will link it to the Czech and Slovak gas corridor."

Such a sharp rejection from the Russian side has been voiced for the first time. The fact that it was voiced by a representative of the firm from which comes the present Russian prime minister makes it even more unusual. And it is beyond doubt that Vyachirev knew what he was talking about, unless Viktor Chernomyrdin promised Vladimir Meciar something different.

If not, however, the Slovak prime minister is not taking into consideration existing realities and is moving in the realm of wishes. If it is a vision, however, it should be welcomed because lofty goals also have a place in the sphere of policy.

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Auditor's Office Assesses Supplementary Budget

AU2504064195 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 22 Apr 95 p 11

[Article by "Sz.L.A.": "The 150 Billion Will Not Be There"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Budget income from privatization will make up 90-100 billion forints [HUF] at most, instead of the planned HUF150 billion, the forecast of the State Auditor's Office says in the appendix attached to the supplementary budget. According to the document, income from certain taxes and the customs and import duty incomes expected from the fight against the black economy are, however, underplanned.

The supplementary budget bill would reduce the budget deficit from HUF282.6 billion to HUF126.6 billion by increasing incomes by HUF157.2 billion and expenditures by HUF30.6 billion. The government expects the bulk of the surplus income to flow from taxes and from customs and import duties; therefore, the report of the State Auditor General's Office [ASZ] focused mainly on this, along with the reality of privatization incomes.

Ideally, the income from privatization flowing into the budget will be HUF60-80 billion less than expected; according to the pessimistic forecast, however, the incomes of the State Property Management Corporation [AV Rt.] will not even cover the expenses of the holding.

In connection with this, Minister Without Portfolio Tamas Suchman told us earlier that he was preparing new strategic steps in order to ensure the income, steps he would make public in the course of the debate on the supplementary budget.

The preliminary business plan of the AV Rt. counts on HUF152 billion cash, HUF5 billion dividends, and HUF3 billion other incomes. Taking into consideration the starting cash, this represents a source worth HUF167.6 billion, but, given the fact that this year's obligations of the AV Rt. make up HUF70.7 billion, out of this HUF85 billion from privatization and HUF5 billion from dividends can be paid into the budget. The State Property Agency [AVU] counts on an income of HUF66 billion, including HUF26 billion cash, something that represents a payment of HUF4.7 billion.

The AV Rt. counts on an income of HUF75 billion from the selling of Hungarian Chemical Works Ltd, HUF15 billion from natural gas suppliers, HUF39 billion from the selling of the Hungarian Oil and Natural Gas Corporation Inc., and HUF2 billion from the privatization of Antenna Hungaria.

The supplementary budget bill counts on HUF9 billion more than originally planned from value-added tax. Taking into consideration the statistics of the first quarter of 1995, the ASZ regards this as attainable. According to the ASZ, increasing the stipulated consumer tax by HUF10 billion is justified. The elimination of home heating oil subsidies and the 10 percent increase in the consumer tax belong to this.

The increase in personal income tax payments by HUF3.5 billion "is adequately supported by calculations," the document says, and adds that the increase derives exclusively from levying taxes on company cars. It seems that the increase in incomes from company taxes by HUF500 million can also be carried out. In view of the HUF1.2 billion income in the first quarter of 1995, the stipulated increase of the HUF4.5 billion income from gambling taxes by HUF300 million "could even be higher." According to the document, the increase in income from customs duties by HUF1 billion is plausible too.

The budget bill stipulates an income of HUF20 billion from customs securities, a sum that the supplementary budget increased by HUF5 billion. Given the fact that importers pay customs duties, value-added tax, and other duties from the deposited customs securities, the ASZ thinks that the HUF25 billion customs securities "cannot be regarded as income."

The supplementary budget is "extremely cautious" in estimating the surplus income from measures against the black economy, the document says and mentions the fact that, according to the calculations of the National Headquarters of the Customs and Revenue Police, as much as HUF15 billion of surplus income might flow in instead of the HUF2 billion.

We can realistically expect a budget income of HUF16 billion from telecommunication franchises; however, it is not sure that the surplus income of HUF6.5 billion appearing in the "international accounts" can materialize. The document says that the Finance Ministry is counting on HUF47 billion from corporate taxes paid by financial institutions; therefore, it is impossible to understand why the supplementary budget only counts on HUF39.8 billion.

Goncz Explains Hungary's EU Ambitions

MS2504124995 Dublin THE IRISH TIMES in English 24 Apr 95 p 7

[Report on interview with Hungarian President Arpad Goncz by Fergus Pyle in Budapest; date not given]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Arpad Goncz is a survivor of that great defining moment in the history of communism in eastern Europe—the popular rising against Soviet occupation in 1956 on the streets of Budapest, and its brutal suppression by Soviet tanks. "For me", he says now, "it was the focal point of my life." As Hungary's first president since the collapse of communism at the end of the 1980s, it has given him an almost impregnable position as the spokesman for a society in the full flood of transition from the straitjacket of single-party rule to the prospect of membership of the European Union and NATO.

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As a participant in the rising, he could have shared the fate of the doomed, courageous reformer, Imre Nagy, along with the 300 others who were hanged afterwards and paid the price, as he puts it, for Hungary's subsequent policy of relative economic liberalism in the Soviet camp. He was sentenced to life imprisonment, which he knew would mean no more than five or six years in jail. "My first night after my trial was, I think, the happiest night of my life, because I knew that I would remain alive. It was very close."

If the prison years, to which he now looks back without hatred, were of decisive importance to him personally, they were also vital for a whole generation of Hungarians who became involved in economic and political change. "We considered ourselves to be prisoners of war, and during at least four years we felt ourselves to be the soldiers of a victorious army." Ultimately, Mr Goncz says, the experience of 1956 led to the changes of the last few years which came about peacefully and through negotiation.

Towards the end of the 1960s the first attempts at economic reform started, laying the foundation not only for a dilution of state control in some areas of activity, but also for the realisation that economic reform could not be separated from political change. This led eventually to the overthrow of the Communist president, Janos Kadar, from within the party. "It is not by chance that in a matter of six months in 1990 the system of political institutions was established. It has been functioning smoothly ever since. This is unprecedented in post-communist eastern Europe."

It is also not coincidental, according to Mr Goncz, that in the second democratic election for parliament, in 1994, reformed communists won a majority and now constitute the government in Budapest. "These were the people who had wanted change within the party, they had already passed the stage of communism. And it is of course, the irony of history that it is a socialist party, or at least a social democratic party, which is now going to implement capitalism in Hungary. You Irish people are completely aware of the ironic sides of life, and from experience one can derive something ironic, something grotesque."

He acknowledges that there has been "some kind of disappointment" in Hungary which has been paralleled in practically all the post-communist countries and in Western Europe? too. When communism collapsed, "there was something we did not know, that a cold war had only losers and not winners. That was the first lesson we had to learn." Many of the east European countries had relatively well-developed social security systems and discovered that modernisation would not automatically create new jobs. The result was budget deficits and unbalanced current accounts.

"It may sound a bit strange that our present-day problems are a proof of our relative advancement. Again, it is an irony of fate that Hungary is now struggling with these problems because of this relatively developed state of affairs and the foreign loans and credits that the Kadar regime drew from the West to modernise. We have got to pay these loans back." The lack of equilibrium has been exacerbated by the surge of economic activity: exports up dramatically last year, industrial output up—productivity grew by 28 per cent in an 18-month period—agricultural output starting to increase, imports up.

The result has been drastic measures to reduce the budget deficit by cutting government expenditure. Mr Goncz says that the indispensable steps to restructure social services will take several years: "Earlier governments did not have the strength to take them, and maybe this government would not have the strength either if they had not been imposed by external factors." Similar adjustments have been necessary in highly-developed capitalist countries such as Sweden, Germany and Austria, as well as in post-communist ones such as the Czech Republic, and he argues: "It doesn't prove backwardness, but advancement.

"The structure and building of a political system takes about six months, one that is sustainable and stable; the establishment of a market economy from a central command economy take's roughly about six years, and the human price we have got to pay for that is very high, because the population of the country is not accustomed to competition and to the mere fact that there are losers. To change basic ways of thinking will take a much longer period of time. Unfortunately, I cannot tell you how much longer.

"If you ask me to characterise the present state of affairs of Hungary, I can say that we ran short of socialist values. But the values of the capitalist system had not been established. We still have the generation that remembers the second World war, the generation of Stalinist communism, the generation that grew up in the period from '56 to the end of the Kadar regime."

Hungary has three main foreign-policy aims: Euro-Atlantic integration, which includes membership of the European Union and of NATO; and maintaining good relations with neighbouring countries. The third aim, ensuring the rights of Hungarian minorities within the surrounding countries, is closely allied with the second. History has left its mark on the ethnic balance of the region, since the old Hungarian kingdom ruled over a conglomeration of different peoples—Slovaks, Germans, Croats and others which received their independence with the Trianon treaty in 1920 at the end of the first World War.

Mr Goncz sketches an historical background in which populations were moved around indiscriminately during the wars with the Turks in the 16th and 17th centuries, followed by the growth of a sense of national identity in the 19th century and the creation of Romania and later of Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia. The number of Hungarians living outside the state is perhaps 3.5 million,

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possibly as many as five million. He ridicules the claim by Romania that Hungary wants "five million and a half Romanians back... this would be far too big for this country. It's historically absurd, there's nothing for us to talk about."

But perhaps the Romanians fear that Hungary wants not just the people, but also the territory. What assurances can it give? "We are not crazy", Mr Goncz replies. "They can believe I am a revisionist, I'm nationalist or whatever they want, but I wouldn't like them to say about me that I am crazy. We would very much like to see the Hungarians living there something like the Swedes do in Finland, to retain their national identity, language, religion." He points out that a basic treaty was recently signed with Slovakia giving all the necessary guarantees to the Hungarians living there.

"At the end of very tough negotiations at the very last minute, the Slovakian government realised what we also knew, very precisely, that the basic interest of the two countries in this moment is basically identical: both want to join the European Union, preferably at the same time, or more or less, to show mutual goodwill, despite and against their own internal nationalist forces."

While the state visit plays a vital part in Hungary's EU strategy and hopes of developing export markets, it is also a personal pilgrimage for President Goncz who as a writer has translated five of Synge's plays into Hungarian, including Deirdre of the Sorrows, and several of O'Casey's. Coming to Ireland, he says, "for me is the fulfilment of an old dream. I have always wanted to feel the air of the country." His visit began yesterday with a private excursion by helicopter to the Aran Islands.

He is also an admirer of President Robinson, whom he has met twice. "She's clever, determined, puts the human being into the focus, she knows precisely, and can formulate precisely, what she wants. I know her activity in Somalia. I also read her book, and I saw how she found her way and mixed with the people there. She was not afraid of illnesses, she was not afraid of the people, she is a human being of the first track."

And his own role? "I've got to preserve the stability of my country under changing circumstances. Sometimes I've got to say no, if I have the feeling that the government wants to disrupt this stability. I have an advantage that the people trust me, believe me, under any circumstances. This is my impression so far. My career, my fate, is something like the mirror image of the everyday, ordinary man in the street in Hungary.

"I can say that I have walked through the entire Hungarian society barefooted. I think I can feel all the problems, happiness and sufferings in the end of my fingers and in the heart of my heart of all the peasants, workers and the intellectuals in the country."

Spokesman Comments on Goncz's Irish Visit

LD2504151995 Budapest MTV Television Network in Hungarian 0500 GMT 25 Apr 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Announcer] President Arpad Goncz began his three-day official visit in the Irish Republic on 24 April. Presidential spokesman Andras Farago is on the line. [passage omitted]

The support that leaders of the Irish Republic offered to Hungary for its endeavor to join the EU and NATO was a positive act but one matter was raised: Once Hungary becomes an EU member-state, the two countries could become each other's rivals. The Hungarian side put forward a kind of proposal to eliminate this possibility.

[Farago] [passage omitted] It is true, in the Irish Republic there is a certain...[pauses] I would not say concerns, I would rather say that they receive with mixed feelings the idea of Hungary's full EU membership because, as they told us yesterday, of our agriculture.

Our president pointed out that, actually, the Irish negotiating partners might be able to see that we are not each other's rivals. On the contrary, the Irish and Hungarian farm producers complement each other and can achieve much more working together within the EU than by trying to compete with each other. [passage omitted]

[Announcer] [passage omitted] Is there a possibility for greater Irish investment in Hungary in the future or for reducing the Hungarian trade deficit with the Irish Republic?

[Farago] It is true that we made it one of the significant points in yesterday's talks to bring to the attention of our Irish partners that, in practice, Hungarian-Irish trade has developed in an unfavorable direction, from Hungary's point of view, in recent years. To put it in figures: Hungarian exports are $7 million against imports of approximately $32 million. We told our Irish partners that we would like an expansion of Hungarian exports in the short term. [passage omitted]

Regarding investments, there is approximately $10-15 million worth of Irish capital in Hungary and, according to realistic calculations, this could be doubled. Primarily, the number of joint ventures may be and should be increased, and here I would refer back to the issue we discussed earlier: Hungarian-Irish agricultural relations. Well, one our most successive joint ventures, precisely in the field of food industry, is the Paszto Dairy, which was bought by an Irish firm; since then its turnover has greatly expanded.

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Walesa Opposing Coalition in Defending TVP Head

WS2504150995 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 25 Apr 95 p 3

[Article by Agnieszka Kublik: "Will Walesa Defend Walendziak Against the Coalition? Three Ways To Get Rid of the Head of Television"]

[FBIS Translated Text] *Behind-the-scenes attempts at ousting President [of Polish Television—TVP] Walendziak are continuing. The coalition has even put together a new management board. Deputies from the Democratic Left Alliance [SLD] Marek Siwiec, Jerzy Wenderlich, and Andrzej Urbanczyk are to become board members, while Marek Baranski, anchorman of the main newscast during the People's Republic, will become head of the First Program.*

Although Walendziak and his board are still working at Woronicza [street where TVP is located], the coalition does not cease to think about who should replace the top managers at TVP. As we have learned unofficially, candidates for board members include Marek Siwiec from the National Radio and Television Council [KRRiTV], Jerzy Wenderlich, and Andrzej Urbanczyk—the two latter being members of the Sejm Culture Commission and SLD deputies.

Marek Baranski (anchorman on the main television newscast beginning 1982, and currently Jerzy Urban's deputy at the NIE weekly) is to head the First Program. His colleague from Martial Law days, Jerzy Malczynski (head of the political and ideological department in 1980-81; head of TVP current affairs programs in 1981-82, and since 1983 a political commentator on the main television newscast) has already begun cooperating with TVP. He writes reports on news and current affairs programs for Senator Ryszard Jarzembowski (SLD), member of the TVP Programming Board.

To appoint a new board and new heads of channels, the owner of TVP SA must first dismiss the TVP president. Three scenarios have already been developed.

Scenario Number-One

The easiest and totally legal solution would be to have the TVP Supervisory Board dismiss Walendziak. It would suffice if two-thirds of the council members agreed with the TVP owner, Finance Minister Grzegorz Kolodko, that the president is not fulfilling his duties well.

If, however, there is no majority in the council, the finance minister must have other scenarios at hand. Two have been developed thus far: one very risky, the other less so.

Scenario Number-Two

...provides that the finance minister himself will dismiss President Walendziak, taking opportunity of a lack of clarity whether or not he has a right to do so (the radio and television bill states that he does not, and waives a provision of the commercial code that entrusts the company owner with such a right).

The decision of the finance minister may be appealed—on the grounds that it is illegal—by both the Supervisory Council and the TVP president. Before the court can settle who is right, however, Walendziak's successor would already be at Woronicza.

Scenario Number-Three

...requires close-knit cooperation between the finance minister and KRRiTV. The finance minister dismisses the Supervisory Council that refused to dismiss Walendziak. KRRiTV appoints one that will agree to do so. Last week, KRRiTV issued a statement that the minister of finance is authorized to dissolve the Supervisory Council, although it is not that evident from the radio and television law.

The lawmaker clearly stated that the board is dissolved by the Supervisory Council. The clause on the council, however, says only who appoints it (KRRiTV), and that its term in office is three years.

Tomasz Kwiatkowski, the president's new legal aide, formerly a presidential member of KRRiTV, says outright that the finance minister has no right to dismiss the Supervisory Council.

"I insisted on numerous occasions that KRRiTV issue a statement on the subject," Kwiatkowski told us yesterday, "but [current KRRiTV Chairman] Janusz Zaorski said there were some doubts. That is why I have come to the conclusion that what KRRiTV's statement implies is that it has reached an agreement with the finance minister to dismiss Walendziak."

One of the KRRiTV members told us yesterday that there is no such agreement with Kolodko.

Walesa for Walendz'ak?

The last statement issued by Walesa on Walendziak was made last year, in June: "Whoever fights Walendziak will have the president as an opponent."

"Walendziak has the unfailing support of President Walesa," presidential lawyer Tomasz Kwiatkowski told us yesterday. "When I joined KRRiTV last year, the president clearly told me that although he does not like Walendziak he will defend the independence of television. I did not receive any signal that this has changed."

As we remember, the presidential council for culture issued a statement last week firmly supporting the TVP head. Belvedere Minister Andrzej Zakrzewski told us yesterday that "Walesa is listening to the voice of his advice."

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Foreign Minister on Ministry, Russia, Links

WS2604114595 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 25 Apr 95 p 24

[Interview with Polish Foreign Affairs Minister Wladyslaw Bartoszewski by Katarzyna Kolodziejczyk; place and date not given: "As Much Dynamics as Realism"]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Kolodziejczyk] The public is concerned over Poland's foreign policy. Do you share this concern now that you have been foreign minister for a month and a half? Do you agree with the opinion that the ministry has been pushed to the limits and that it has recently lost its dynamics and initiative?

[Bartoszewski] The answer depends on what period we are now talking about. There have been various periods in the six-year history of this ministry. Minister Andrzej Olechowski certainly was not in office for a sufficiently long period. However, Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski, who created the foundations of the current direction of our foreign policy, had five years at his disposal. We can speak about a weakening of the dynamics as a result of the change of the government in the fall of 1993. The situation that developed at that time was not favorable to Poland. As a result of the difficulties that the prime minister and the foreign had in communicating with each other, the world began asking questions that were troublesome to us. Many misunderstandings were caused.

Dynamics is also determined by finances. A blockade of the budget, which also affected our ministry, had to cause certain changes in the decisionmaking process. These difficulties coincided with the process of rotation, which is quite natural and occurs every four or five years in the diplomatic service of any country. The time of rotation of ambassadors who received their nominations after 1989 came when Minister Olechowski held this office.

As I see it, quite unfortunate accidents happened here. On the one hand, some ambassadors were recalled and there was no idea of who should replace them. On the other hand, equally unfortunate was the blockade which made it impossible to make new appointments at some diplomatic posts, including such important posts as those in the Vatican, Tel Aviv, or Lisbon, where we have not had our ambassadors for ten months, or even over a year.

[Kolodziejczyk] How many posts remain vacant at the moment?

[Bartoszewski] We urgently need to appoint ambassadors to more than 20 posts. This means that my ministry and I will be rather busy trying to resolve this problem over the next few months.

[Kolodziejczyk] You promised that your first decision will be to appoint ambassadors to the Vatican and Tel Aviv. Despite that...

[Bartoszewski] The candidate for the ambassador to the Vatican withdrew because he had to undergo a medical operation, and several candidates for the ambassador's post in Tel Aviv did not accept my offer.

[Kolodziejczyk] Do you have similar difficulties trying to appoint people to important posts in the ministry here in Poland?

[Bartoszewski] I will have to make several important personnel decisions. In some cases I have received the approval for the changes I would like to make and I am going to make further changes.

[Kolodziejczyk] More specifically?

[Bartoszewski] For example, the new under secretary of state is Professor Stefan Meller, a man of high qualifications. There are also changes in departments...

[Kolodziejczyk] Who has been appointed secretary of state?

[Bartoszewski] Since Jerzy Kozminiski left a year ago and was appointed as our ambassador to Washington, there has been no candidate who would be approved by the president, the prime minister, and the foreign minister. Therefore, it is better to maintain the status quo (Deputy Minister Robert Mroziewicz has become the minister's deputy), than to propose solutions which would not satisfy the interested people.

[Kolodziejczyk] The disputes over powers between the prime minister and the president do not harbinger anything good for you...

[Bartoszewski] They certainly affect the methods I am using. I am trying to implement my goals extremely cautiously yet firmly.

[Kolodziejczyk] What formula will be the most important to your work as foreign minister in this difficult situation?

[Bartoszewski] To me, the most important thing pertaining to the substance of my work is the program declaration made by Prime Minister Jozef Oleksy in the Sejm. No other decisions can be a basis for formulating my policies. I can do no more than only acknowledge the fact that there are certain configurations, certain decisions which tie political parties or groups of people in the coalition. I am not a member of the coalition.

[Kolodziejczyk] The prime minister has assigned the Ministry of Foreign Affairs [MSZ] the role of a coordinator. Prior to that, when the dispute over participation in the Moscow ceremonies [marking the end of World War II] flared up, you stated that you wanted to be neither a mediator nor an arbiter between the president and the prime minister. How, then, do you see your role as foreign affairs minister? Who do you think should carry the burden of responsibility for this ministry? Who should be ready to either take the rap or receive medals?

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[Bartoszewski] I expect a cross of martyrdom rather than a cross of merit. I am, however, prepared to take on the responsibility.

[Kolodziejczyk] What do you think of the role of a coordinator, Mr. Minister?

[Bartoszewski] I will not discuss this issue in public. I believe that this formula is imprecise and, in addition, it is rather ambiguous, I am afraid. Sometimes the coach coordinates the movements of 11 soccer players on the field...

In the European tradition and in modern diplomatic services the role of foreign minister is slightly different. He should be the director of the Polish foreign policy, but it should be under the general supervision of the head of state—in strategic issues and in line with the current Constitution; it should also be within the consensus of the government's policy.

[Kolodziejczyk] What does this mean in practice?

[Bartoszewski] It means that the prime minister proposes to the president such a candidate for minister whose ideas he knows and approves. The candidate knows the government's program declaration and agrees with it. The government announces a program and the minister implements the part that deals with the foreign policy. However, he does this in a manner which he deems appropriate for the ministry. Incidentally, it is worthwhile to try to give another thought to the law on the foreign affairs minister. We should also return to an idea which was presented by Minister Olechowski and which was blocked by the Council of Ministers. What I mean is a law on MSZ that would separate the professional service from the ministry's political representatives.

[Kolodziejczyk] Let us now revert to the dispute over powers and to the interpretation of the "general supervision" exercised by the president...

[Bartoszewski] The fact that control over foreign policy, issues of internal security (Ministry of Internal Affairs), and external security (Ministry of National Defense) is exercised by one establishment is well justified. It results from the general vision of the security of the state and from the vision of watching over its external interests.

I believe that, apart from agreeing on the candidacy for the future head of each of the three ministries, another thing that is absolutely indispensable here is trust. As far as I am concerned, there is such trust both in my relations with the president and in my relations with the prime minister. The prime minister has emphasized on numerous occasions that I am a member of his government. Yet, I am a member of his government, but I am not his man.

[Kolodziejczyk] The press was rather critical of the results of the session on coordination of foreign policy (13 April). At the same time it expressed its concern over the remarks and corrections which were proposed during the secret, over three-and-a-half-hour debate (18 April) to the draft speech which you are going to deliver in the Sejm in three months' time. Could you comment on this critical evaluation and on this situation?

[Bartoszewski] The purpose of the session at the president's office, held at his initiative, was to discuss the same issue of coordination. It was the first discussion on this topic and, as I understand, not the last one. However, the issue of the commemoration of the 50th anniversary of the victory shifted the stress and took a lot of time during the session. The draft document entitled "On the Most Important Tasks of Foreign Policy" as a basis for my Sejm speech was also discussed, to which the government is entitled. However, I would like to assure the readers of RZECZPOSPOLITA that I will not deliver a speech that would not be in accordance with my conscience and convictions.

[Kolodziejczyk] Can you list the main points of the speech?

[Bartoszewski] Here they are: Our roads to the EU, the West European Union, and NATO should be parallel. However, at the same time we should improve our good relations with our neighbors and with their neighbors, such as Hungary or Austria. We also want to play an important role in the regional structures of major significance. We attach special importance to the structures which Poland chairs, such as the Council of the Baltic Sea States, which is to hold its session in May in Gdansk.

I want to draw your attention to the fact that various countries are represented in this council. Those which are members of NATO; those which do not belong to this organization, but are members of EU, and those which do not belong either to the EU or NATO. This type of cooperation goes for such countries as Norway, Sweden, Finland, Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, Poland, the Russian Federation, and the FRG. This is the only forum of this kind and I attach special importance to its work. Let me add that cooperation within the council is developing very well.

[Kolodziejczyk] What importance do you attach to the countries of the Visegrad Group? Are you going to try to stimulate this cooperation despite the reservations of Czech Prime Minister Vaclav Klaus?

[Bartoszewski] There are only four countries in this group: Poland, Hungary, Slovakia, and the Czech Republic. We have not given up cooperation in this group, even though some of its members sought separate roads in various issues that are common. However, they have the right to do that. I believe that it is very easy to destroy and give up the structure that already exists. However, it is far more difficult to reconstruct it.

[Kolodziejczyk] The main directions of the foreign policy have been made known, the strategic goals have been agreed. Despite that, this is not always so obvious.

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Today clear declarations on our integration with NATO, even declarations made by Prime Minister Oleksy, are not enough. What we need is concrete work. How can MSZ speed up this work? Do you share the opinion on the need to set up a new ministry that would deal with this? There are such rumors in Warsaw.

[Bartoszewski] There are such trends, but everything is still in the discussion stage. Personally, I am in favor of tying such work with MSZ as tightly as possible. I will give the example of Sweden. It is not a giant and, just like Poland, it is not going to play the role of a superpower. Now, in that country there is also a ministry which includes three others: foreign affairs, foreign economic cooperation, and European integration issues. All of them are headed by one minister and, apart from him, there are two specific ministers—secretaries of state who head appropriate sections. What I am trying to explain is not that we should follow some foreign model. However, I do believe that it is worthwhile to give this model some thought.

[Kolodziejczyk] What is your attitude to the popular opinion, in line with which we have good relations with Germany, not very good or active relations with our Eastern neighbors, and our relations with other states, especially EU members, are simply nonexistent. We should remember, after all, that such countries as Portugal, Spain, Italy, or Greece will sooner or later vote on issues that are most important to us...

[Bartoszewski] We should have active ambassadors in those countries, especially in EU states. Second, we should present our arguments to people who are in charge of political life. Not only to those ministers of foreign affairs, but also to those political circles. Now, as far as our closest neighbors are concerned, it is good to remember that relations in politics are similar to interpersonal relations. There must be goodwill on both sides. Aside from that, some of our neighbors went through many problems in the period of their political and economic transformation, which is still going on. This has weakened their activity on the international scene.

All our neighbors, without exception, are important to us. My plans include talks with Slovakia and the Czech Republic. I intend to stimulate our relations with Ukraine, but this will depend on this country itself as well. I would not like to cause any allergic reactions because of, for example, our opinion on the relations between Kiev and Moscow. Let Russia and Ukraine maintain such relations as two sovereign states would like to maintain. However, we must take into account the fact that the country which has the longest border with us is not the Russian Federation, but Ukraine and Belarus.

[Kolodziejczyk] While avoiding possible clashes with Moscow, we have neglected relations with our Eastern neighbors, and we achieved nothing by doing that. As far as our relations with Russia are concerned, even if we are not in conflict at the moment, we certainly are going through disconcerting changes of moods. We are slowly turning into the proverbial boy that is always punished. Taking into account the fact that in such a situation goodwill on both sides is necessary, how do you think Poland can improve its relations with Russia?

[Bartoszewski] Let me start with Ukraine. Four weeks after I received my nomination, my friend Bohdan Osadczuk criticized me in RZECZPOSPOLITA, saying that I failed to mention Ukraine. I do not agree with this statement; I am really open to Ukraine. I have often spoken about the importance we attach to the relations with our neighbors; they are as important as our integration goals. However, Ukraine has also gone through changes of governments—the dynamics weakened not only in our country, but also in Ukraine.

However, I do not know a method which would make it possible to avoid any suspicions and implement one's own goals, to reach those goals and not irritate a neighboring state. I have no recipe that would allow me to satisfy everyone. In Paris I told Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev openly that we are not meddling in Russia's relations with other countries, and that we ask the Russians to do the same. Kozyrev received by declaration with a silent smile. We also envisioned extensive talks at an appropriate time. Now, Poland has only limited influence on what is happening in terms of teasing or minor provocations. I will personally make efforts to see to it that there are no such teasing practices on the part of Poland. This is not a method to develop relations with any neighbor, not only with a stronger one.

[Kolodziejczyk] Our attempts to join NATO encounter both internal and external difficulties. First of all, however, these difficulties come from Russia. What is MSZ going to do about it? What can we do?

[Bartoszewski] What we can do is patiently, always patiently explain things and dispel fears and doubts. Please note that apart from international relations, there is also an internal policy. In Russia presidential and parliamentary elections are to be held (June 1996 and December 1995 respectively). It is possible that we will witness some problems in Moscow. Incidentally, it is strange that we Poles can easily understand similar problems caused by election campaigns if they occur in Italy or France; however, we are surprised that they occur in the Russian Federation. I personally respect the traditions of the Russian diplomatic corps, which have had great achievements in the history of Europe.

I believe that a great foreign policy is one which is limited by two concepts: As much dynamism as realism.

[Kolodziejczyk] What importance do you attach to the presence of the United States in Europe? What is your vision of our relations with this superpower and what is the purpose of your visit to Washington?

[Bartoszewski] I expect to hold talks with American politicians on NATO. However, it is hard for me to say anything specific until these talks are actually held.

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The goals of my visit are such as those of the visit of any new foreign minister of a medium-sized country. I want to specify the range of possible cooperation, common views as well as different shades of views, and evaluations of what is realistic in the future. We are looking at those relations with trust, with a kind eye. However, we are also looking at them pragmatically. We have no separate policy as far as the United States is concerned, just as the United States probably does not have such a policy toward us.

[Kolodziejczyk] Mr. Minister, officially our relations with Germany are good. However, the opinion that we are far from rapprochement and from a more animated dialog is expressed increasingly more often. Reservations are being submitted to the "partnership" between us, especially in such areas as trade, border-crossing sites, regional cooperation...

[Bartoszewski] No, no. I do not agree with the statement that we are going through some special difficulties. On the contrary; I believe that it is nearly a miracle that relations between Poles and Germans are today such as they are only six years after the changes that occurred in Poland. If 10 or 15 years ago someone had said in Germany or in Poland that millions of citizens of both countries would cross the border on the Neisse and Oder river on bicycles to do shopping and business—not only legal business, that they would be tied by various personal, family, and commercial relations, it would have sounded almost like utopia!

I am looking at our relations in the context of the histories of our relations; this point of view is independent of German-French, German-Belgian, or German-Dutch relations... We hear that our Western neighbors would like to have such relations with us. Let us ask the following question, then: What were these relations like six years after the establishment of the [unified] FRG, six years after the zero hour? Were French-German relations as friendly and cordial as they are now? It is obvious that they were not. Thus, I think that we have achieved a lot over those six years.

[Kolodziejczyk] What are you going to tell the Germans in Bonn during the ceremonies commemorating the anniversary of the end of World War II?

[Bartoszewski] I am still working on my speech. However, I will say what can be said by a Pole who belongs to the generation that survived World War II. I will talk about what caused the abyss that separated us and about the phase of bridging this gap—the phase we are going through right now.

I am thinking about the future, not about what happened in the past. No one is going to change historical facts. They will remain unchanged. Wounds may heal, but the scars will remain. Even though scars are not a normal condition and they cannot determine relations between groups of people and between nations, the foundation of agreement is the recognition of facts. Only then is it possible to think about ordering the future. The Germans do not negate facts. They have a clear attitude toward Hitler's epoch and a clear attitude toward developing good relations with all neighbors, just as a democratic legal state can develop such relations.

[Kolodziejczyk] Has Poland managed to get out of the uncomfortable geopolitical situation which is best illustrated by the saying on the geographical ill-fate between two superpowers: Germany and Russia?

[Bartoszewski] As is known, it is impossible to change one's geopolitical situation. However, the way it is received can be altered. One of my dreams is that I will live long enough to see an open border with Ukraine, Belarus, Russia, and Germany. It also one of my dreams that relations with our Eastern neighbors will be as simple in everyday life as Polish-German relations on the Oder and Neisse rivers.

Army Chief To Participate in NATO Meeting

LD2504125295 Warsaw PAP in Polish 1115 GMT 25 Apr 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Warsaw, 25 Apr—General Tadeusz Wilecki, chief of the General Staff of the Polish Army, is to take part in a session of the North Atlantic Treaty Military Committee, Lieutenant Colonel Zdzislaw Czekierda, spokesman of the chief of staff, announced today.

Wilecki went today on a four-day visit to Brussels and Mons at the invitation of the commander in chief of the NATO Joint Armed Forces, General George Joulwan, and the chairman of the NATO Military Committee, Field Marshal Richard Vincent.

During the session to be held at the NATO Headquarters, "decisions are to be made that will make easier the implementation of the Partnership for Peace [PFP] program and the tasks, role, and achievements of the Partnership Coordination Cell discussed." A discussion is also expected on experiences transpiring from the PFP and on plans for the immediate future. Peace operations carried out with the participation of NATO troops, as well as experiences in the field of cooperation that arise from these, are to be analyzed.

A working meeting between Gen. Wilecki and the Armed Forces commander of the Republic of Lithuania, General Jonas Andriskievicius, will be held during a break in the session.

In Mons, the chief of the General Staff will take part in the annual conference of the headquarters of the NATO European Forces devoted to peace operations.

Adam Strzembosz Forms Election Committee

WS2504133495 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 25 Apr 95 p 3

[Report by "WZ": "The Professor's Start"]

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[FBIS Translated Text] *The walls of Polish cities will be soon plastered with campaign posters. A full-color Adam Strzembosz will also encourage people to cast their votes for him. His presidential campaign will begin full steam next week.*

"The decision has been made; the professor will run. We are not interested in the conclave of rightist candidates suggested by St. Catherine's Convent," says Marek Kotlarski, spokesman for Strzembosz's election committee and a member of the Conservative Coalition [KK].

The committee already has its head—Jan Szyszko, former director of the National Park Board, who is affiliated with the Center Accord. Pawel Zalewski (KK) is in charge of Strzembosz's campaign strategy, Miroslaw Styczen (Conservative Party) of finances, and Jan Polkowski, editor in chief of CZAS KRAKOWSKI and a spokesman during Olszewski's government, of the platform.

They want to launch the campaign as soon as possible. If the professor wins huge popularity now, he will discourage other rightist politicians from running themselves. Among those preparing to run, as we know, are Lech Walesa, Marian Krzaklewski, Jan Parys, Jan Olszewski...

Strzembosz already has the support of Primate Jozef Glemp. A dynamic campaign is planned to guarantee him success at the "Solidarity" congress scheduled for June. "The trade union is torn between various candidates. None of them is likely to be supported by all of 'Solidarity.' Yet we will do everything in our power to ensure that Strzembosz has the largest lobby," says Kotlarski. The professor is thus expected to court the trade union before the congress.

Strzembosz's election program is still being formulated. It is already known, however, that the key word will be "family."

Poll: Election in Apr Would Not Alter Scene

WS2604075895 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 24 Apr 95 p 2

[Article by "knysz": "Public Opinion Research Center: A Stable Political Scene"]

[FBIS Translated Text] *If parliamentary elections were held now, they would not rock the current political scene.*

Despite the vociferous conflicts between Prime Ministers Waldemar Pawlak and Jozef Oleksy, we would vote exactly as we did in September 1993. The Democratic Left Alliance [SLD] still remains the strongest party. Today, it would net 20 percent of votes.

When Oleksy replaced Pawlak, SLD gained popularity (a growth from 21 percent in February to 24 percent in March), the Polish Peasant Party [PSL] lost (from 17 to 11 percent). We now know that this was just a temporary deflection and both parties are currently a mere 5 percent apart.

SLD can count on the votes of 30-, 40-, and 50-year-olds from the largest cities. This party has the widest support among Poles with elementary education, skilled workers, but also private entrepreneurs. SLD is also most widely supported among old age pensioners, the unemployed, and housewives.

PSL is competing with SLD for the votes of uneducated people and housewives. It is unrivaled among farmers.

The Freedom Union ranks third with the support of 13 percent. Its ratings changed only slightly since the beginning of this year. The largest group of supporters are younger people (over 40 at the most) inhabiting large cities, and management cadres in the state sector.

"Solidarity" can count on receiving 11 percent of votes. Its constituency is made up of 40-year-olds, mainly unemployed or with low incomes, and blue collar workers from the state and cooperative sectors.

The Union of Labor is the party of choice for one in 10 adult Poles—just as much as last fall. The party has attracted very young voters (under 30) with secondary education. It is also widely supported by people employed in the state sector and the unemployed with leftist views.

Parties that did not make it above the threshold of 5 percent include the Nonparty Bloc in Support of Reforms (4 percent), and the Confederation for an Independent Poland (3 percent). Extraparliamentarian rightist coalitions—the Alliance for Poland, the 11 November Accord, and the Secretariat of Center Right Groupings—could get a combined total of 9 percent of votes.

The poll was carried out on a representative sampling group of 1,177 adult Poles.

UOP Forming Unit To Combat International Crime

LD2504215295 Warsaw Third Program Radio Network in Polish 1900 GMT 25 Apr 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Internal Affairs Minister Andrzej Milczanowski has said that on 30 April, the State Protection Office [UOP] will set up a department aimed at combating international crime. The department will deal with the most serious cases involving drug production and trafficking, money laundering, international terrorism, the smuggling of radioactive materials, and the production of counterfeit money. The Ministry of Internal Affairs head has also presented some statistics:

[Begin Milczanowski recording] As a result of intensified operations with regard to crimes involving extortion and fraud, and as part of the active penetration of 153

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criminal gangs, police units for combating organized crime have completed a total of 46 operations. As a result, 209 suspects have been detained, 117 arrested, and 16 are under police observation.

Another issue is obtaining bank loans by deception—all the time we are talking here about a period of four months. As a result of the completion of four cases—in Katowice, Lodz, and Bydgoszcz—22 suspects have been detained, 10 persons have been arrested, and three are under observation. [end recording]

Government, NBP Decide on Monetary Policy

LD2504224695 Warsaw PAP in Polish 2202 GMT 25 Apr 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Warsaw, 25 Apr—At a meeting on 25 April attended by Council of Ministers Chairman Jozef Oleksy, Grzegorz Kolodko, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers and minister of finance, Jacek Buchacz, minister for foreign economic relations, and Polish National Bank [NBP] Chairwoman Hanna Gronkiewicz-Waltz, the principles for cooperation between the government and the NBP in the sphere of monetary policy were decided, a communique from the Government Press Office says.

In particular, new principles were agreed upon for the flexible setting of the zloty exchange rate in association with the appropriate reduction of NBP interest rates. The solution adopted will be introduced in the first half of May of this year and is to serve the further reduction of inflation, with the simultaneous maintenance of a high-growth level of production and a fall in unemployment, the communique states.

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Tinca's Health Said 'Good' Following Surgery

AU2404134695 Bucharest ADEVARUL in Romanian 22-23 Apr 95 p 1

[Article by "L.M.": "The Defense Minister Had Gallbladder Surgery"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Two days before his name day, Defense Minister Gheorghe Tinca was submitted to "cholecystotomy"—in other words, a classic surgical procedure to remove the gallbladder. As is known, President Iliescu had a similar operation last year. The Central Military Hospital surgical team told us that Tinca's postoperative condition is good and that, owing to his chronic cholecystosis, no other medical intervention was possible. Tinca will have to be on a diet for the next six months, which means that he will probably be able to celebrate this Easter properly at around Christmas. We wish him a speedy recovery and hope that he will soon be able to return to his post at the head of the army!

Presidential Spokesman on Statements by CE Head

AU2604114995 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1000 GMT 26 Apr 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Romania has never asked for territorial autonomy according to ethnic criteria for Romanians living beyond the country's borders, and has never urged them to claim such a thing, stated Ambassador Traian Chebeleu, the spokesman for the Romanian Presidency, at today's news conference at Bucharest's Cotroceni Palace. Chebeleu noted that Romania's interest toward those Romanians is expressed through purely cultural means.

This statement referred to recent declarations made by Miguel Angel Martinez, president of the Council of Europe [CE] Parliamentary Assembly.

The Presidency spokesman said that these statements are based on additions and remarks that came after Mr. Martinez's visit to Bucharest; and he mentioned that in Romania, the rights of the minorities are guaranteed to the highest standard of democratic countries and the information about Romanians in Ukraine, which forms the basis of Mr. Martinez's declaration does not correspondent with reality.

During the same news conference that, we have to stress, was held prior to the vote in the Council of Europe's Parliamentary Assembly, referring to Recommendation 1201, Traian Chebeleu said its resuscitation has a hidden political agenda and that Romania cannot accept either provisions that tend to recognize the right of the so-called mother country to call to order the ethnic minorities in other countries or the concept of territorial autonomy on ethnic criteria, qualified as being anti-European and segregationist.

Foreign Ministry on Statements

AU2604120995 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1000 GMT 26 Apr 95

[FBIS Translated Text] During the weekly news conference held by the Foreign Ministry spokesman, Vasile Sofineti, director of the Press Relations Directorate, affirmed that the resumption in Budapest of the negotiations for the finalization of the treaty on understanding, cooperation, and good neighborliness between Romania and Hungary represents the implementation of the accord reached by the two countries' prime ministers and recorded in the joint declaration signed in Paris on 21 March.

Sofineti mentioned that the Romanian Foreign Ministry has not as yet received any signals that the negotiations would be affected by the latest declarations made yesterday at the Strasbourg meeting by Miguel Angel Martinez, chairman of the Council of Europe [CE] Parliamentary Assembly.

Referring to the statements by Martinez made at the Strasbourg meeting, Sofineti stressed the fact that the Romanian Foreign Ministry assesses that these declarations can be found to a great extent both in the statements made to the Romanian press during the visit Mr. Martinez paid to Romania and the statements made during the talks he held with Bucharest officials.

A correct interpretation of Mr. Martinez' statements in Strasbourg must be made in relation to his numerous declarations made during his visit in Romania, including his speech in Cluj on the occasion of the ceremony when he was awarded title of doctor honoris causa, declarations that give broader prospects to his concept and viewpoints referring to these issues.

Mr. Sofineti affirmed that Martinez' statements must be assessed in this way—all the more so since Mr. Martinez told Romanian journalists that what he stated in Bucharest has not lost its validity.

During the same news conference, we were informed that a new round of negotiations was held on 19-22 April by experts of the Romanian and Ukrainian Foreign Ministries aimed at working out the draft of the basic bilateral political treaty and a joint declaration. Sofineti affirmed that during negotiations, noteworthy steps were made toward finalizing the basic bilateral political treaty, and opinions were exchanged regarding the structure of the declaration. The negotiations will resume at a later date that will be set through joint agreement.

'Discriminatory' Minority Standards Rejected

AU2504152895 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1300 GMT 25 Apr 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Adrian Nastase, speaker of the Chamber of Deputies, held a news conference at Metropolitan Hill Palace today in connection with the statements made in Strasbourg by Miguel Angel Martinez,

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chairman of the Council of Europe [CE] Parliamentary Assembly. Mentioning that he had had a telephone talk this morning with Mr. Martinez, Nastase said it is very clear that Mr. Martinez's statements in Bucharest have created a state of agitation and nervousness at the CE. Mr. Nastase said that Martinez is a very good friend of Romania's. During today's telephone conversation, Mr. Martinez sent his sentiments of friendship toward the Romanian people and said that his Bucharest statements continue to remain valid. Unfortunately, the problem of minorities is being used for political purposes, which is a very dangerous thing, Nastase said. An attempt is being made to impose upon Romania standards that are different from those prevailing in other countries. This is unacceptable, since standards in minority matters cannot be discriminatory. This problem must be treated very carefully, since there is a trend of opinion in the CE that is motivated by political interests. By not accepting Recommendation 1201, our country has proceeded most correctly, since we cannot agree to implement legal regulations that are different from those prevailing in other countries. We want to integrate ourselves into Europe as a rule-of-law state, and not a colony, Nastase said. What applies to Romania must also apply to all countries, said Nastase.

As regards the problem of the basic treaty between Romania and Hungary, Mr. Nastase said that the Hungarian Government did not want to sign this treaty in keeping with current European standards, and tried to impose upon our country recommendations that were valid only up to the signing of the Framework Convention on Minority Protection.

25 Editors of Daily Resign; Publication Suspended

AU2604084995 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 0400 GMT 26 Apr 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Twenty-five out of a total 30 editors of the daily TINERETUL LIBER announced their resignation yesterday. According to statements made by Hanibal Stanciulescu, the paper's former deputy chief editor, the reasons [were] indicated by the newspaper's policy toward the left and the conditions set to editors with a view to achieving financial revival, unquote. This statement has been published in most dailies today.

TINERETUL LIBER, which has nevertheless appeared today, published a communique signed by George Padure, chairman of the commercial company TINERETUL LIBER S.A. In that communique, Padure mentions that the life of the newspaper is dictated by the decisions of the stockholders and by the readers' desire to buy it.

In conclusion, he notes that in order to prepare a new publication formula, the newspaper will suspend publication for a few days.

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Carter to Karadzic: Cannot Help Peace Process

LD2504201195 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 1759 GMT 25 Apr 95

[Item received by fax]

[FBIS Translated Text] Sarajevo, 25 Apr (SRNA)—Former U.S. President Jimmy Carter today informed Srpska republic President Radovan Karadzic that he does not see any way of helping the peace process due to Izetbegovic's rejection of an offer to return to Bosnia-Herzegovina.

"Thank you for the positive response to my offer to return to Bosnia and help the peace process, but unfortunately Mr. Izetbegovic has informed me that he cannot not accept my offer," says Carter's letter to President Karadzic, which was forwarded to SRNA by the Srpska republic's bureau for press contacts.

Carter further says that he appreciates President Karadzic's suggestions on what he could still do if he returned to former Bosnia-Herzegovina, but he cannot see what he could do in concrete terms given that Izetbegovic's government is not ready to negotiate.

"I am very sad that the four-month cease-fire is falling apart without any signs of its possible extension. Renewed fighting would surely be followed by the loss of many lives, would destroy many more families, and implant among the young generations a feeling of despair and hopelessness," the former U.S. President tells Karadzic in his letter.

I was hoping, Carter goes on to say in his letter, that the four-month cease-fire and the Agreement on the Cessation of Hostilities would take root and thus facilitate the search for a diplomatic rather than a military option, but they have never been completely implemented due to the lack of trust on both sides and ineffective mediating efforts of the international community, which has altogether brought about the current crisis.

"I would like you to know that, although surprised by the current turnabout in developments, I continue to remain ready to help in peace negotiations if the situation improves. We will continue to be in touch and I will do everything I can to help the talks continuing with the aim of finding a peaceful solution," Carter says in the conclusion of his letter to President Karadzic.

Pejanovic Comments on Charges Against Karadzic

AU2504192895 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 25 Apr 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Mirko Pejanovic, member of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency, commented on yesterday's information from The Hague about the possibility that the international war crimes tribunal may press charges against the Pale leadership as follows:

In the act by The Hague Tribunal to press war crimes' charges against a part of the Pale leadership, I see the announcement of the end of the war. I see a psychological and political turnabout in this action. I see a possibility of a new realignment of social, political, and civic forces. I see a realistic possibility for the strengthening of the antifascist forces that have sided with good and justice against evil and injustice.

In this action, I especially see a chance for the portion of the Serbian people who are under the control of the Pale regime to sober up, that is, sober up in the sense of making a turnabout that would mark a moral and political condemnation of the perpetrators of the war crimes and distancing themselves from these people.

One thing is sure. This will mark the beginning of the process of the strengthening of the civic and libertarian forces within the Serbian national corpus and in Bosnia-Herzegovina in general, that is, the forces that favored good, justice, peace, and a political solution, Mirko Pejanovic, member of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency, said, among other things, in a statement for B-H PRESS.

SDA Criticizes Croat Assembly Deputies

AU2504153795 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 25 Apr 95

[Report by Mirza Berhan from Mostar]

[FBIS Translated Text] The Herzegovina regional committee of the Party of Democratic Action [SDA] has met in an expanded form. One of the main topics of the session was the implementation of the provisions of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Federation Constitution. Mirza Berhan reports from Mostar:

[Berhan] The regional cantonal committee of the Herzegovina SDA held a session in Mostar. The session was also attended by members of the party's Executive and Main Committees, the deputies in the Republican and Federal parliaments, representatives of the armed forces from the Mostar region, representatives of the municipalities in this region, and the representatives of the Islamic community.

They discussed, among other things, the setting up of transitional organs of authority in accordance with the Constitution of the Federation and the Bonn Agreement. In connection with this, the session took the view that the decisions of the state and party organs must fully be respected, and that one should consistently work on implementing the Federation Constitution on the ground.

The transitional organs of authority will be set up according to the provisions of the Constitution and the stands adopted at the session of the Cantonal Coordination Committee. Despite the successful agreements and the harmonization of views of the Bosniak and Croat representatives, as pointed out at the session of regional

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SDA committee for Herzegovina, the authorized representatives of the Croat people at the municipal level do not respect the aforementioned agreements.

The municipal assemblies in the territory under the control of the HVO [Croatian Defense Council] are convened by one side, without consultations with the Bosniak representatives, as was the case in the Capljina and Stolac municipalities. At the Capljina municipal assembly session, held in that town yesterday, as pointed out the session of the regional committee of the SDA, all the decisions were outvoted by Croat deputies. The Bosniak side was not offered even a single more important place in the organs of authorities. In this way they completely negated the election results from 1990 and the census of 1991.

Delic, Commanders Discuss Cease-Fire Expiration

AU2504192995 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 25 Apr 95

[FBIS Translated Text] A meeting was held at the General Staff today at which corps commanders and those directly subordinated to the General Staff reported to Army General Rasim Delic. The meeting was also attended by the core [uzi dio] of the General Staff.

They analyzed the results achieved in the process of transformation, the training of units, and command in the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army. The general conclusion was that all corps of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army have made a [word indistinct] move in their [word indistinct] and that they are ready to face the expiry of the four month cease-fire agreement that passed in the realization of coerced defense activities by the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army on almost all battlefields in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

At the end of today's meeting, Gen. Delic delegated tasks to the corps commands and those directly subordinated to the General Staff.

Gen. Delic placed a special emphasis on the further strengthening and development of the system of command and on readiness to perform duties, which will, apart from other things, continue to strengthen Bosnia-Herzegovina's international position in the search for an acceptable solution for this territory, the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army press center reports.

Justice Minister Views Legal System

95BA0207A Mostar HRVATSKI LIST in Serbo-Croatian 10 Mar 95 pp 6-7

[Interview with Mate Tadic, minister of justice and administration in the Croatian Republic of Herceg-Bosna and minister of justice in the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina, by Dragan Naletilic; place and date not given: "In the Forest of Legislative Enactments, It Is Not Difficult To Camouflage the Site of a Hit-and-Run Attack"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Mr. Mate Tadic of Brcko is both minister of justice and administration in Herceg-Bosna and justice minister in the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina. It was not easy to get him to do this interview. He is often in Sarajevo, he makes quick trips to Zagreb, he comes back to Mostar, and then again to Sarajevo. Right now, he is getting ready to go to the Sava Valley. But one of the reasons he is able to do all this is his abundant experience in this job, which he had even earlier.

[Naletilic] What does it mean to be minister of justice and administration under the present conditions and in this part of the world?

[Tadic] Minister of justice is a very important office in the present-day law-governed system, that is, in a state which we would like to say is operating as a law-governed state. Along with the ministries of defense and internal affairs, this is certainly the third area, and then there is also the finance ministry. The minister of justice should in a way reflect the law-governed state and legal system. It is in that context that he should be viewed both concerning the territory of Herceg-Bosna and the territory of the Federation. At this moment, unfortunately, the situation is not such that we have much to boast about, but neither is it such that we can be completely dissatisfied. If we go back a bit and look at how it was functioning two or three years ago, when we were in the whirlwind of war, when the legal system fell apart, when many personnel departed, then what we have built is truly satisfactory. If we want to make a comparison with the legal systems in the West, then we still fall far short.

[Naletilic] You are minister of justice both of the HRHB [Croatian Republic of Herceg-Bosna] and also the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina. Where do you have the most work and problems at the moment?

[Tadic] The jobs differ a bit. There is quite a bit of work in the Ministry of Justice and Administration of Herceg-Bosna. There is current business, organization of the judicial system, and the operation of the courts and prosecutor's offices. The operation of the courts and prosecutor's offices are a particular problem in those areas where they have been moved temporarily to places that are free. For example, Jajce, Bugojno, and Konjic. There are quite a few problems there. We have reestablished some of those courts, some we have not, but we are trying to make progress even there.

The situation is somewhat different at the level of the Federation. The emphasis of my involvement and effort in the Federation is mainly on enactment of legislation in the jurisdiction of the Federation with the purpose of implementing the Constitution of the Federation. That is, the purview of the Justice Ministry includes jurisprudence and administration, but other laws of other ministries also pass through that ministry insofar as they pertain to organization of the state system of administration. We have to give our opinion of all laws. Then there are problems of a different nature, and there is the

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struggle to implement the Constitution the way it was written and the way the representatives of the two nationalities signed it. There are quite a few difficulties here, because there is a political fight over every sentence, every word, every comma.

[Naletilic] What is the biggest hang up in the enactment of federal laws?

[Tadic] If we are talking about the area covered by the ministry I head, then I must emphasize two or three of the most outstanding problems. First of all, we are utterly unable to agree on the question of citizenship in the Federation. The Constitution of the Federation explicitly states that the Federation shall have its own citizenship. We representatives of the Croatian people in bodies and agencies of the Federation are insisting that this be incorporated into laws. The Bosnian Muslim side wants it to be omitted or dealt with in a different way that would equate republic and federal citizenship. We are not consenting to that. The law on citizenship which the Ministry of Internal Affairs is to offer will settle the question of citizenship, and in these laws which we enact and which pertain to the Supreme Court, the prosecutor's office, the Law on Performance of Duty in Courts, and so on, we explicitly envisage citizenship in the Federation. We have already taken two or three laws away from the government.

Then there are problems concerning jurisdiction, that is, what is the jurisdiction of the Federation and what is that of the cantons? A related question is interference of republic agencies in the jurisdiction of federal agencies. In addition, difficulties are also arising over recognition of passports issued on the territory of the Federation, in which there are two legal systems, one on the territory controlled by the HVO [Croatian Defense Council] and the other on the territory under control of the Army of Bosnia-Herzegovina. We are attempting to overcome that, and we hope that after Munich this will be resolved with the help of an arbiter.

We Croats have a clear position in all of this. We are not seeking any more than is written in the Constitution of the Federation, but at the same time we will not give up a single letter of what is written there.

[Naletilic] What do you see as the final solution with respect to the overlapping of jurisdictions of the HRHB, the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina, and the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina?

[Tadic] The Constitution of the Federation has explicitly stated that the laws in place on the territory of the Federation at the moment when the Constitution was signed remain in effect until new ones are enacted in that area or until the competent body repeals them. So, what was in effect on the territory of the HRHB remains in effect until that area is regulated by federal statutes. And not only regulated by adoption of a law, but by the actual implementation of that law. Likewise, republic statutes are also in effect in that region controlled by the Army of Bosnia-Herzegovina until federal laws are enacted to cover the particular subject matter. Incidentally, in my opinion there will be no application of federal statutes until cantonal government is set up and until a few key laws are adopted. And those laws are the Law on Federal Units or Cantons, the Law on the Federal Ministry of Internal Affairs, the Law on Defense, and the Law on the Central Bank and the Currency and Coin of the Federation. Until these laws are adopted, these statutes which we have cannot be implemented.

[Naletilic] Are there any indications as to when at least some of these laws might be adopted? What about the law on local self-government? Where are the criteria for formation of the new opcinas?

[Tadic] The decision on the criteria for formation of the new opcinas or to change the boundaries of existing ones is in the form of a proposal sent to the Constitutional Assembly, it has gone through the first reading, it has been corrected, and we expect that it will be adopted in the first session of the Constitutional Assembly.

As for the Law on the Bases of Local Self-Government, which has also gone through the government in draft form, it should also be taken up in the next meeting of the Constitutional Assembly, and after that it will go through further proceedings.

There is a problem here which has not been sufficiently elaborated by the specialists and is being politically exploited in various ways. The new opcinas cannot be formed, and this is, in fact, stated in the Decision on Criteria for Formation of the New Opcinas, until the Law on Federal Units or Cantons is adopted. After all, the opcina is formed within a canton. The region of one opcina cannot be in two or more cantons. That is why the Law on Federal Units is a precondition for forming the new opcinas. What is going to happen to us is this: We will probably adopt a decision on uniform criteria for formation of the new opcinas, and the Law on the Bases of Local Self-Government will probably get through the first phase, but we will not have that fundamental law, which is the Law on Federal Units or Cantons. So, even when we adopt those laws, we will still have to wait to form the opcinas consistent with federal statutes.

[Naletilic] Why, then, go ahead with establishing certain forms of authority in the velezupas? The boundaries are not even known.

[Tadic] True, the boundaries are not known, and, you see, the Federal Constitution says nothing about how many cantons the Federation is to have, what they are to be called, and where their boundaries are. According to the Constitution, the Federation is a federal state consisting of federal units called cantons, and the cantons and their demarcation are to be defined in a separate statute. The next sentence says that the names of the cantons must be consistent with geographic terms and the seat of the canton, that is, it is merely descriptive. The Vienna Agreement of last May, which was accepted

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by the Constitutional Assembly, speaks of eight cantons and a ninth district of Sarajevo, it speaks of the working titles of the cantons, and the boundaries of those cantons can be seen marked out on the appended map, not descriptively. But the Vienna Agreement is an agreement, it is not a law, nor is it a constitution. That is why a law has to be adopted. So, in terms of formal law, there is no law defining the name, area, or borders of the cantons. From that standpoint, they could not be formed. However, from the standpoint of the Vienna Agreement and the standpoint of speeding up implementation of the Federal Constitution, those of us working in Sarajevo have allowed, if I might so put it, the formation of transitional bodies and agencies of the cantons in those areas which have set this in motion and where this is being done consistently with the Vienna Agreement. There will be certain corrections here with respect to the boundaries of those cantons. That is why provisions on the boundaries of the cantons are not being included in the canton constitutions, at least not in those which I have had occasion to see. So, we have not been standing in the way of formation of the cantons, but we could have, because there is no law regulating this matter.

[Naletilic] You constantly use the term canton. How about the velezupa?

[Tadic] To tell the truth, I do not know where the term velezupa came from. I do not accept it. I still have not received a clarification, and I have requested it from linguists and historians to the effect that that term is appropriate to what we want. In the translation of the federal Constitution from English to Croatian, which has been officially published, the term is canton. As I see it, canton is a far better term, because what we mean by it is exactly what it is, and that is a state with respect to its legal organization. So, the canton has its own constitution, its own government, its own president. It is a state. Canton is an international term which is more or less established for a region which has large powers and which is a kind of ministate. The most typical example is that of Switzerland. The velezupa is something I cannot explain. This has been launched, but I cannot find a legal basis for it. As far as I know, opinions are divided about it even in these areas in Herzegovina. I will personally go on using the term canton all the time until someone makes the case to me that this is not good and appropriate. And if we want the term velezupa, we have to document it in historical, legal, and political terms, and then translate the Constitution accordingly.

[Naletilic] Let us go back to Herceg-Bosna. There is talk in many quarters about some kind of crime in that state. How much truth is there in those stories, and are judicial authorities managing to perform their proper role in controlling all forms of illegality?

[Tadic] First, we must realize that the judiciary is only one of the segments in crime prevention. On that ladder, the judiciary is somewhere, I would say, in the last stage, after the citation, the indictment, evidence, and so on. I can speak only about that segment of the fight against crime which belongs to our ministry. The rest which our citizens see on the street every day is not in the power of the judiciary, but mostly in the province of the Ministry of Internal Affairs.

I mentioned at the beginning of the interview what kind of situation we started with in early 1992. The judiciary on the territory of Herceg-Bosna was completely stymied.

Some of the personnel had been driven out; in the Sava Valley, for instance, which fell completely. Orasje, where there had never in history been a court, remained free. All cities where there had been courts were occupied. Or, take central Bosnia, where again a great deal of that was stymied. On the territory of Herzegovina as well. Stolac, Capljina, Mostar, Kupres, Livno, Prozor, and Bugojno—everything to do with the courts was weak. It might be said that only the courts in Siroki Brijeg and Ljubusko were in operation. In view of the fact that the personnel were mainly Serbian before the war, behind them were mostly Muslims, and when this is related to the consequences of the war, we came into a situation where we had nothing with which to make up a court. Mostar is a typical example. We had here five or six Croats in the court from which to make up a superior court, a basic court, and a military court, as well as the prosecutor's offices. That cannot be done with five people. So, that was the situation during 1992.

Important steps were taken in 1993. The most important progress was adoption of the Law on the Courts, which the parliament adopted late that year; it established the organization of the courts and prosecutor's offices in the HRHB. We immediately undertook to set up the courts and put them in operation. I said earlier that aside from the five courts which have not been put in operation, in Gradacac, Konjic, Bugojno, Jajce, and Usora, we have put the others into operation. To some extent, we have found a solution for Gradacac, Usora, and Konjic, but we have not been able to do this for Jajce and Bugojno.

Given that situation, once we had 30 courts in operation, most of the prosecutor's offices, and four military courts, we were in a position where to some extent we could work to combat crime, that is, to process what the civilian or military police were bringing to the courts. Then there were additional problems with imprisonment. In practical terms, there is not a single institution on the territory of Herceg-Bosna for serving felony and misdemeanor sentences. That is, an institution specifically intended for the serving of felony and misdemeanor sentences. On the basis of a decision of the government, we have three prisons, and they are the district prisons in Mostar, Busovaca, and Orasje. None of these prisons has the facilities necessary for serving felony and misdemeanor penalties. In Busovaca and Orasje, there has never been a court nor appropriate facilities. During the conflict between the Muslims and Croats, we had to move out the prison in Mostar and locate it temporarily in a military facility, which is absolutely unsatisfactory.

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In that situation, the courts somehow managed to get on their feet during 1994 and to regularly perform their activities in criminal and civil trials. Crime, which was pronounced, is a always normal phenomenon in wartime, and there was no reason to expect that we would be an exception. The headquarters for fighting crime which was in operation during last year and the beginning of this year helped in the detection and reporting of criminals. Most of the cases end up in the courts, especially the military courts. The civilian courts have somewhat larger problems, because they lack personnel. We transferred the best personnel from the civilian courts to the military courts.

So, this would be my assessment: In 1994, the courts began to operate more normally in keeping with the statutes enacted at the level of the HRHB, but still not to the extent that would be required for a normal legal system. The problem is above all the shortage of personnel, the inadequate plant and equipment, and the overall situation which is that of wartime and has an impact on the work of judicial bodies. By organizing the holding of judicial examinations, which is near completion, we will bring about the conditions for a better supply of personnel, and we anticipate considerably better work of judicial bodies in the second half of 1995.

[Naletilic] Can you reduce the backlog of the courts?

[Tadic] We are working on that right now by training personnel and through organizational measures. The people, the citizenry, and the institutions of the system are very sensitive to cases which take a long time to settle. They exist now, although the public does not know what kind of difficulties we face, nor frequently do the institutions in the system. We often have this kind of situation today: We issue a summons to a man to come to trial, and he refuses to come! He is in a unit, he has a weapon. Send out an order to the police to bring him in, the police do not bring him in. It takes five or more orders to have one person brought in. They are unable to bring them in without using force. Or the person being brought in uses some other excuses such as "I am in a unit," "I am in the field," "He is at the front," and so on. Another shortcoming is that people are scattered. You bring in one person, you do not have other people, you do not have witnesses. This witness is now in Croatia, in Australia, or some other country.

[Naletilic] Now that you are speaking about difficulties in the courts, could you also mention the possible dependence of the courts on political factors or certain other centers of power? Are the courts of Herceg-Bosna independent?

[Tadic] The Law on Courts explicitly states that officials, that is, the judges and prosecutors, are independent, better stated, that they may not belong to any political party. This has been well done in that sense. We have the Judicial Council, which has jurisdiction over appointment and dismissal of judges and prosecutors. That Judicial Council was named by the parliament, it consists of professionals, distinguished legal experts. It has its chairman, Mr. Zoran Buntic. Under wartime conditions, nominations to that Judicial Council go through the ministry, and in peacetime a competition is envisaged. Independence is complete from that standpoint. There have been certain difficulties, especially at the beginning, in some communities where the local authorities attempted to influence the appointment of judges after the fashion of "this one is capable, this one is not," this one previously held this position or that, and so on. We opposed considerations of that kind, because we were above all seeking professionalism. I must say that recently this pressure has slackened, I can even say that there is none at all. So, the way we are working now, I think that the Judicial Council is doing good work, it is functioning well, and we only need to continue with those personnel we are now getting through the judicial examinations. We have to bolster our personnel, because, just to illustrate, more than 30 percent of the people working in our courts have not passed the judicial examination. They are people who never even entered a courtroom. Such a person simply cannot take up any important case, he is afraid, especially if he has to pronounce a prison sentence of 10 years or more. So, I am satisfied with the level of independence of the judiciary when it comes to choosing people and personnel. But there is another difficulty in preparing and obtaining evidence. The charge is made, the prosecutor investigates, and later there is not sufficient evidence. And now the court finds itself in a quandary as to how to proceed. But that is a problem of cooperation among the competent agencies of the state.

[Naletilic] Do the jurisdictions of military and civilian courts overlap?

[Tadic] There are problems here, and we are constantly trying to resolve this through amendments and supplements to the law, which the government of Herceg-Bosna recently did. There is a decree defining their respective jurisdiction. In general, we know that a military person goes to a military court, a civilian to a civilian court. However, problems arise when the status of the military person is undefined. Is someone a military person if the status of a military person is undefined? Is someone a military person if he is in the reserves at home, not at the front, he goes to a cafe in civilian clothes and commits some crime? Then the question arises of how to resolve this, that is, which court has jurisdiction, the military or the civilian? Up to now, the courts have tried on their own to find certain solutions, and by and large we have tried to work out such cases with supplements to the law by directing most such cases to the civilian courts. These courts have to be upgraded a bit, that is one reason, the other lies in taking the burden off the military courts, and the third thing is the obligation of the Law on Defense settling the issue of who is a military person. Is it only a professional, is it also a militiaman, and when, when he is at the front or when he is in the reserves?

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[Naletilic] There are no military courts in the Federal Constitution?

[Tadic] Yes, in the Federal Constitution there are no military courts, and when we begin to set up the cantonal courts, the military courts cease operation. The cantonal judiciary has only two types of courts, the opcina court and the canton court. That is why we are trying to do more to upgrade the civilian courts.

[Naletilic] Last month, there was a flurry of activity to elect opcina governments in some areas of Herceg-Bosna. Much of that was unclear to ordinary people unaccustomed to observing all the political and legal difficulties. People simply do not even know who is the head of their opcina at this point.

[Tadic] Things are completely clear to me, although we often tend to complicate everything. If you go by the statutes of the HRHB, the decision clearly states that there is the opcina council which operates by convening the most recently elected assembly and electing its president and department heads. Before that, the government of the HRHB says whether or not the opcina council can operate. Then, where the opcina council cannot operate because of wartime conditions, which is an determination made by the government, the presidential council designates the president of the opcina council, and the government then appoints the department heads. The opcina executive government (poglavarstvo) does not exist in that decision, although it could be introduced, because this is a purely Croatian term.

The matter is also clear when it comes to the statutes of the Federation. The opcina council is convened of those deputies elected in 1990 whose mandate has not been taken away, that is, the former assembly is convened, it elects its president, and it elects the opcina governor. There are few differences here. The opcina governor now combines the office of the former chairman of the executive committee and the president of the opcina. The opcina governor appoints the heads of his departments, that is, he forms his own government. And the president of the opcina council is an amateur, unless they agree otherwise. If they agree, a statutory decision must be drawn up and adopted by the assembly, which is now the opcina council. The president of the opcina council will occasionally call meetings of the opcina council to take up specific matters. Whether this is monthly or less often depends on the business and tasks. The opcina governor is here the executive branch, he directs operations from day to day.

So, matters are completely clear, but it is no wonder that there should be misunderstandings because in some places there has been a succession of several presidents of opcina councils, people have taken office who were never deputies, so that now a certain amount of confusion concerning all of this is normal.

[Naletilic] Both criteria are being applied in the opcinas?

[Tadic] Yes. But wherever they want to form a canton, as they do now in Herzegovina, the opcina government must be organized according to the Constitution of the Federation. Otherwise, there is no canton. In places where they are not trying to set up cantons, the government is formed according to the decrees of the HRHB. What is to be done depends mostly on the views of politics and politicians.

Serbs Continue Investigation of Aid Workers

AU2504210495 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 25 Apr 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The self-proclaimed Serb authorities today announced that the (?court) investigation is continuing against five members of the organization "Pharmaciens sans Frontieres" who have been kept imprisoned for more than a month in the vicinity of Sarajevo. Karadzic's Serbs have been reproaching this organization for having illegally entered the territory of the self-proclaimed Srpska republic.

Greek Volunteers To 'Boost Morale' of Serbs

AU2604111395 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1000 GMT 26 Apr 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Passage omitted] Correspondent Muhamed Hadziahic from the Gorazde Press Center has reported that the Gorazde District's free territory is under fierce enemy artillery and sniper fire. Here is the latest report:

[Begin Hadziahic recording] The situation is extremely difficult on the (?Bosnian) part of the front. The aggressor from Dubovici, Kovaceva Ravan, and Lokvice is using 82-mm mortar to fiercely shell Lasicka Kosa, Pesovici, Boskovici, Poratak, Kapavac, and Ropoc. The residential areas of Vitkovici, Obarak, Stup, and Vranici have also been targeted by Karadzic's chetniks. The defense lines in the 81st Division theater of operations, on a section of the Pale front—particularly Hrenovica—have also come under fierce fire. The enemy in the Rogatica area is active from Kamenjak and Tuj Planina at Orlijak and Prosjak. The areas of Radici and the Gorazde-Ostanica, Ostanica-Ilovaca, and Vitkovici-Mravinjak routes have also come under fierce artillery and sniper fire. [end recording]

Boderiste hill and the depth of the free territory were the focus of artillery attacks on the Brcko front, reports the 2d Corps Information Service. The aggressor was active from the direction of Delina Ravan, Sumari, Turici, (?Pazova), and Omerbegovaca. The weapons used included tanks, howitzers, and mortars of all calibers. [passage omitted]

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On the Zvornik front, enemy artillery targeted Sapna, Vitinica, and Kovacevici. Yesterday, several dozen shells of all calibers were fired at the Teocak free territory. It has recently been reported that mercenaries and volunteers from the Novi Sad Corps are being transferred from Serbia into Bosnia via pontoon bridges on the Drina River. Vast amounts of military hardware, armored vehicles, and fuel are also being transferred for Karadzic's paramilitary forces on the Brcko and Bihac fronts. In order to boost morale, chetnik radio stations have been announcing the arrival of volunteers from Greece, mostly intellectuals and students, comprising a Greek volunteer brigade, who are ready to fight for the so-called Srpska republic. However, they cannot and will not weaken the resolve of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army. [passage omitted]

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Martic: Highway Closing Warning to Zagreb, World

LD2504192895 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1856 GMT 25 Apr 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Okucani, April 25 (TANJUG)—Serb Krajina President Milan Martic said Tuesday that a 24-hour closing of the Belgrade-Zagreb Highway was a warning to Croatia and the international community that Krajina should be treated as a negotiator on equal footing.

Unless Croatia changes its stance on transport of goods destined for the republic of Serb Krajina, we will close the highway again, Martic said. He announced that check points would be put up along the highway again and that the Serb Krajina police and customs officials would collect toll and duties. Serb Krajina on Tuesday morning reopened the highway section in Western Slavonia, which is a U.N. Protected Area.

Serb Krajina closed the highway in protest against its use exclusively by Croatia. The decision was also prompted by a blockade of a humanitarian convoy heading for Krajina. In talks with local civil and military officials in Pakrac, Western Slavonia, Martic said that U.N. Security Council Resolution 981 was unacceptable for the Serbs and rejected its implementation in Krajina's territory.

According to Martic, U.N. peacekeepers should be deployed along the lines of separation between Croatian and Serb Krajina troops, and not along the border between Krajina and the Bosnian Serb republic.

Granic Comments

LD2504210895 Zagreb HTV Television in Serbo-Croatian 1730 GMT 25 Apr 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] The blockade of the [Belgrade-Zagreb] Highway and its reopening was discussed at today's session of the Croatian Assembly's foreign policy committee. Replying to Ljubomir Antic of the Croatian Social Liberal Party [HSLS], who finds yesterday's threat by Croatia unnecessary, Foreign Minister Mate Granic told the session that Croatian police would have opened the highway if the Serbs had failed to do so.

As regards the reopening of the highway, Granic expressed his full disagreement with the explanation that this was a matter of the Serbs' arrogance rather than of the seriousness of the Croatian threat.

[Begin Granic recording] I can tell you just this: The threat that was openly and clearly conveyed to [UN envoy] Akashi was a serious threat. It was not just for myself or the public alone, this was a most serious threat. [passage omitted]

This resolution, Resolution 981, Resolution 988, and this future one that will be based on Ghali's report—it will in fact be a technical resolution which accepts his report—is the best possible political framework for continuing and completing the process of reintegration. Of course, the resolution on its own cannot do this. [end recording]

[Announcer] During a debate on Croatia's international position, the members of the foreign policy committee were informed about the development of relations with neighboring countries and activities relating to involvement in European integrations. Reflecting on the current state of affairs in Bosnia-Herzegovina, Croatia's foreign minister stressed that Radovan Karadzic's rejection of the peace plan and Serbia's continuous military support make an extension of the conflict and its spread to neighboring countries a real possibility. [passage omitted]

RSK Supreme Council Statement on UN Mandate

AU2504153695 Knin Srpski Radio Krajina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1900 GMT 24 Apr 95

[FBIS Translated Text] A session of the Supreme Defense Council of the republic of Serb Krajina [RSK], chaired by the president of the republic, Milan Martic, was held today. Apart from the members of the Supreme Defense Council, Dr. Milan Babic, foreign minister, Ratko Veselinovic, minister of finance, and Milivoj Kricka, minister of energy and mining, also attended the session.

Regarding the implementation of the UN mandate on the territory of the RSK, a statement was agreed upon at the session, which will be forwarded to the government and assembly of the RSK to be adopted as the position of the RSK. This was reported by the Information Service of the President of the Republic. The statement says the following:

The position of the RSK is that the legal basis for the UN forces to stay at the territory of the RSK is the decision of the RSK Assembly of 9 February 1992, with which the UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] mandate was accepted on the basis of the report of the UN secretary general to the Security Council, within the framework of the Vance Plan. The RSK accepts the extension of the mandate of the UN members on the principles of the former mandate, including the tasks anticipated by the cease-fire agreement of 29 March 1994 and the agreement of 2 December 1994 between the RSK and Croatia. The RSK sees the change of the name of the mandate of the organization of United Nations as prejudicing the political solution to the relations between the RSK and Croatia, which is contrary to the spirit of the UN mission and is unacceptable to the RSK. The RSK, therefore, cannot accept the insignia or name of the UN mission if it contains or may suggest the name of Croatia on the RSK territory. The RSK appreciates the efforts on the part of the international community and the United Nations toward establishing permanent peace on the territory of the former Yugoslavia and reaching a final and integral solution to the crisis through negotiations.

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However, at the same time, the RSK disagrees with the provisions contained in UN Security Council Resolution 981, which treats the RSK as part of the Republic of Croatia. The RSK rejects these provisions. The RSK is prepared to continue to cooperate with the UN in searching for a peaceful and just solution to the crisis in the former Yugoslavia, following the principles of the impartiality and equal recognition of the sovereign rights of the Serb people and the RSK.

RSK President Appeals to Austrian President

LD2504115195 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1135 GMT 25 Apr 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Knin, Apr 25 (TANJUG)—Serb Krajina President Milan Martic called on Austria to use the influence it has, owing to its specific historical position and role, to help bring about an end to the Serb-Croatian dispute.

In a letter addressed to Austrian President Thomas Klestil, a copy of which was delivered to TANJUG Tuesday, Martic called on Austria to put at disposal documents testifying to the historical, spiritual and cultural presence of the Serbs in the present republic of Serb Krajina [RSK] to the international conference on former Yugoslavia, the U.N. Security Council and other mediators.

The letter said the Serbs and Croats entered as equals the Yugoslav state in 1918 and the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia after World War II. The international community should not have allowed Croatian President Franjo Tudjman to 'take away Serb ethnic and Serb historical territories from Yugoslavia,' said the letter.

Martic requested of Klestil and the Austrian Government to deliver to the U.N. Security Council a report on the autonomy of Serbs in Austria from 1630-1881. During that period, the Austrian emperors nine times granted the Serbs the right to self-rule, acknowledging their merits in the defense of the empire from Ottoman Turks and other invaders.

Today, Austria has the opportunity, through the international community, to affect crucially the [word indistinct] of the Serb-Croatian dispute on the basis of historical facts, said the letter.

Successful Talks Held With Montenegrin Delegation

LD2504225395 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 2000 GMT 25 Apr 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Following a meeting between delegations of Croatia and Montenegro within the framework of an interstate commission for Prevlaka which was held in Dubrovnik today, Croatian delegation leader Ivan Jarnjak assessed the talks as successful. Gorana Mirosevic has a report:

[Mirosevic] The setting up of a joint subcommission which will include heads of the police administrations of Dubrovnik and Neretva and the Herzeg-Novi police center and also representatives of the UN peace troops headquarters, whose tasks will be determined at the next session of the interstate subcommission—this is the main conclusion of the eight-hour talks between the delegations of Croatia and Montenegro in Dubrovnik. The Croatian delegation was led by Croatian Internal Affairs Minister Ivan Jarnjak, Deputy Internal Affairs Minister Josko Moric, and Major General Petar Stipetic. On the Montenegrin side the talks were conducted by Deputy Prime Minister Zoran Zizic, Internal Affairs Minister Nikola Pejakovic, and Branislav Srdanovic, the Montenegrin president's foreign policy adviser.

The talks were also attended by Yasushi Akashi, the UN secretary general's special envoy for the former Yugoslavia. After the talks he said the following, among other things:

[Begin Akashi recording, in English with superimposed Serbo-Croatian translation] After this long interval of over two years, the very fact that both sides sat down at a negotiating table—through UN mediation—shows the readiness for negotiations and reaching a permanent agreement. Therefore, I can freely say that ice has been broken outside as well as inside the room. [end recording]

[Mirosevic] Both the Croatian and the Montenegrin delegations assessed today's talks as successful. The Croatian minister of internal affairs said:

[Begin Jarnjak recording] It is certain that after every round of talks normalization is closer—the same can be applied to the talks today which I assess as successful and in which, I daresay, both sides showed a great deal of tolerance, mutual appreciation, and desire to find a solution. A solution that cannot be to the detriment of either side, a solution which will most certainly bring a just peace in this area. [end recording]

[Mirosevic] The next meeting of the interstate commission is to take place in four to six weeks. Both sides have promised to refrain from any provocative actions.

Serbs: Army Continues To Provoke at Mt. Dinara

AU2504162295 Knin Srpski Radio Network in Serbo-Croatian 1900 GMT 24 Apr 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The Information Service of the Headquarters of the Serb Army of Krajina reported that, during the past 24 hours, the Croatian Army continued to provoke the Serb defense forces at Mount Dinara.

Yesterday, the enemy fired six shells on the wider area of Antica Glavica. Many more projectiles were fired on the area of Uniste in Grahovo Municipality, many of which landed on the territory of the republic of Serb Krajina.

The report continues to say that, in Lika, there was Croatian Army small-arms fire in the wider area of Plaski and in the area of Mali Alan on Mt. Velebit.

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Members of the 5th Corps of the so-called Bosnia-Herzegovina Army used small arms in their provocations at the foot of Mt. Pljesevica. The Croat and Muslim provocations resulted in no Serb casualties, the report of the Krajina military command states, adding that the commander of the Serb Army of Krajina, Lieutenant General Milan Celeketic, sent a telegram to the commander of the UN peace forces, Bernard Janvier, expressing his condolences over the deaths of the three UN members killed in Sarajevo.

Martic Says Krajina 'Will Never Be Reintegrated'

LD2504213295 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 1759 GMT 25 Apr 95

[Item received by fax]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Pakrac, 25 Apr (SRNA)—Milan Martic, president of the republic of Serb Krajina [RSK], stated in Pakrac today that Krajina will never be reintegrated in Croatia. He stressed that the Serbs will live in their own single state.

"All Serbs will live in a single Serb state; if this does not happen soon, because of the sanctions and the international community's attitude toward the Serbs, we shall work on the creation of the already agreed upon single Serb state west of the Drina," Martic told a rally in Pakrac.

The RSK president and Lieutenant Colonel General Milan Celeketic, chief of the general staff of the Serb Krajina Army, today paid a visit to western Slavonia where they had talks in Stara Gradiska and Pakrac with municipal leaders and army representatives.

President Martic confirmed that the Belgrade-Zagreb Highway was reopened for traffic this morning, after a blockade in Lipovac of around 90 lorries transporting humanitarian aid for western parts of Krajina had been lifted. [passage omitted]

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General Strike Seen as 'Political' Power Struggle

AU2604085495 Skopje NOVA MAKEDONIJA in Macedonian 25 Apr 95 p 4

[Commentary by J. Dzockov: "Political Strike"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The appeal of the Union of Independent Trade Unions for a general strike under the name of "The Voice of the Hungry" confirmed the assumptions that have been present in the media for some time. In the first place, it has been confirmed that the strike has a political background and that its function is to prevent positive resolution of the standby arrangement with the World Bank.

The claims that the action of the union is of a social character were clearly contested by a VMRO-DPMNE [Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization-Democratic Party of Macedonian National Unity] announcement by its president Ljupco Georgievski. Namely, he made it clear that the VMRO-DPMNE supports the initiative because, as he said, the membership and supporters of this party make up a large number of the people affected by the government activities that destroy enterprises and plunder the economy. Moreover, Ljupco Georgievski announced political demands during the strike: resignation of the present government and formation of a new, professional one; new elections; and autodissolution of the parliament. This party held a news conference at which it was stated that a dozen parties that are not in parliament would also back the strike!

In the Union of Independent Trade Unions—silence. It never crossed the mind of anybody to thank them for the support and to oppose any political interference in purely unionist matters.

This development of events related to the general strike confirms the thesis that the greatest number of the demands of the Union of Independent Trade Unions are of a political nature and that their intention is to disband all laws on reforms in the country, and even to change the parliament and government. VMRO-DPMNE's support to the appeal of the union leads to the conclusion that perhaps this party, instead of being national, is now growing into a "party of the hungry." The future will show if this party will try to find support among the hungry. However, it is obvious that it is trying to go out into the public even at a meeting organized by the trade unions.

The second important issue is the time that was chosen for announcing the general strike. It coincides with the announcements of the World Bank that in a short period, starting from next month, the Bank's board of directors will discuss and make decisions about the standby arrangement with our country. Will this mass dissatisfaction with the reforms—which, by the way, got the highest marks by the Bank's experts—be the reason for deciding about the credit at some other time, if there will be any such time? We must not forget that this standby arrangement dedicates $14 million to social programs for those who will go out to the union's meeting because the reforms have put their existence at stake.

Of the 15 demands that are the reason for the strike only four are of a social nature. It is probably by pure chance that three of them are at the end of the list: strong and guaranteed social assistance (there is already such an assistance); return of suspended union activists to their jobs; elementary conditions for the work of the union's coordinating body and to all coordinators, payment of the two unpaid pensions, and regular payment of pensions with equalization. All the other demands are related to stopping reforms and returning to the starting positions. It has also been suggested to abolish the law on privatization, the law on restructuring of 25 loss-makers, the law on purchase of socially owned flats, to stop bankruptcy, and return all workers facing redundancy to their jobs.

All this points to the idea that the union objects to reforms and pledges for violent changing of laws through a street democracy that eventually ends up in anarchy. We should once and for all realize that this people has had enough of incomplete reforms. This is another attempt to exert pressure with the aim of abandoning the reforms particularly now when they are in the subtlest phase and when the social tensions are the strongest. Nevertheless, practice shows that every postponement creates drastic consequences, and every stoppage multiplies the difficulties. Now that our country has been praised by world experts as one of the countries in transition that has undertaken the right steps, we are, from the inside, asking to stop them and thus refuse the assistance that is given and promised by the world's financial institutions.

At this moment nobody has the right to close their eyes in the face of what is happening in the state. Nobody has the right to close their eyes in the face of the difficulties facing a great number of pensioners and workers facing redundancy who are leaving the enterprises, including the 60,000 who receive social assistance. Moreover, nobody has the right to use them in his struggle for power and try to prolong their agony to infinity. Only with the success of the reforms can we talk about an economically developed system in which we can talk about social policy that is similar to developed countries.

The wish for a constructive help in such a situation is to criticize the actions of the authority but also to propose clear and decisive solutions, an alternative that offers a change in the system with less social tensions, a fast development of production, and a change in the overall situation toward a projected goal—a wealthier society. Everything else is in the domain of day-to-day policy that does not offer perspectives but stops the processes and deepens the tensions.

Parties Protest 'Politically Rigged Trials'

AU2604085595 Skopje MIC in English 25 Apr 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] The representatives of the National Democratic Party, the Party of Democratic

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Prosperity [PDP] of Albanians in Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM], PDA-Islamic Way, PDP-Party for National Unity and the Association of Albanian Women, made a decision in Tetovo yesterday to organize a protest meeting tomorrow at 1200 hours, in the town center.

The meeting will be held on the day when the trial of the rector of the illegal Tetovo University in Albanian language Fadil Sulejmani is scheduled to start. According to the announcement from yesterday's meeting, the protest is organized "against the politically rigged trials for the Albanians and the degenerated tendencies that endanger not only the Albanians, but also all citizens!"

In today's press conference in Skopje, the organizers strongly attacked the government of intentionally raising the interethnic tensions in Macedonia over this past week, and creating conflict situations so as to divert the attention from the country's more serious social and economic problems. The government was accused of generating tensions among the Macedonians and Albanians which is not so high, with an intention of putting the social tensions in the second plan. The representatives of these political parties stated that the government was showing an absence of political will for the settlement of the problems of the Albanians and that the trial scheduled in Tetovo tomorrow was not only a process against Fadil Sulejmani, but also against an idea that brings all the Albanians in Macedonia together.

It was announced that all necessary measures have been taken for tomorrow's meeting to pass peacefully and without incidents and that the ultimative demand for the release of Sulejmani would be expressed at the town square in Tetovo, and not in front of the court building. The organizers are expecting more than 20,000 people to turn up.

Otherwise, the representatives expressed moral support to the "Meeting of the hungry" which is scheduled to be held in Skopje on Thursday, and are refusing any kind of connection with that protest.

Bulgarian Arrested for Smuggling Ammunition

95BA0210E Skopje VECER in Macedonian 9 Mar 95 p 13

[Article by J. Stefanovski: "'Traveling' With Bullets"]

[FBIS Translated Text] *Krasimir Goranov (39) from Botevgrad, Bulgaria, introduced into, and subsequently tried to take out of, the Republic of Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM] 160 bullets for sidearms of different calibers.*

Kriva Palanka, March—The Kriva Palanka township court has completed the investigation of Krasimir Goranov (39), a Bulgarian citizen from Botevgrad suspected of the crime of illegal possession of weapons or explosives. The town prosecutor in Kriva Palanka is drafting, and will in a few days file, the charges against him.

The investigation conducted by Ivan Stojcevski, investigative judge of the Kriva Palanka township court, confirmed that the suspect had illegally procured in the Republic of Bulgaria 146 bullets for sidearms of 9mm caliber and 14 of 7.62mm caliber. Goranov concealed this ammunition in a tool case in his own Golf passenger car (Bulgarian registration) and illegally introduced it into the Republic of Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia] for purposes of selling it. He failed.

Returning to Bulgaria, as he crossed the Deve Bair border point last 4 March, the ammunition was detected during a routine customs-police control, and confiscated, along with the car.

Krasimir Goranov told the investigatinge judge that the ammunition was bought for his personal use and that he intended to buy a revolver for his own defense. He had a friend in Struga with whom to start a trading company but had failed to do so. Going to Macedonia, he "forgot" the ammunition in the car and, returning to Bulgaria, the ammunition was detected at the Deve Bair border crossing, after he had traveled throughout Macedonia with it.

No one knows the purpose of this ammunition and why it was not sold. It is totally unlikely that it was for his personal use.

A just jail sentence will be demanded for the suspect, who for the time being is in Skopje's investigations prison. His case is expected to be tried soon by the Kriva Palanka township court.

Army Retiree Said Leading Weapons Smugglers

95BA0210F Skopje NOVA MAKEDONIJA in Macedonian 11 Mar 95 p 3

[Unattributed article: "Criminal Indictment Against Eight Individuals"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The Ministry of Internal Affairs was able to detect, recently, yet another black-marketeering channel for trading in weapons and ammunition in the vicinity of Skopje.

In the course of the investigation of the case it was confirmed that the main organizer and supplier of weapons is a retired former member of the Yugoslav People's Army who, along with two individuals from Skopje, illegally smuggled into Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM] from the Socialist Republic of Yugoslavia a substantial quantity of firearms and ammunition for resale.

The participants in these illegal activities were deprived of two automatic rifles of 7.62mm caliber, three Scorpio

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automatic pistols, an Uzi submachine gun, two other pistols, a hunting rifle, and 580 pieces of various types of ammunition.

The case was fully proved and documented, and the Ministry of Internal Affairs has charged eight people for the crimes of "illegal trade in" and "illegal possession of arms or explosives."

Black-Market Weapons Dealers Arrested

95BA0210G Skopje VECER in Macedonian 14 Mar 95 p 11

[Article by Lj. Stankovic: "The Imam Wants a 'Kalashnikov'!"]

[FBIS Translated Text] *The following are detained in the Skopje investigations jail: Pavle Srepfler (46), Srboljub Cvetkovic (32), Ljuben Mladenov (35), Seladin Tjaili (51), Ivan Rangelov (47), Mitko Jovevski (47), his son Goran Jovevski, and Vukoje Djordjevic (30), all from Skopje. The merchants of death intended to sell weapons purchased in Yugoslavia to several people in the Republic and to an imam from Rasce Village.*

Following the detection of the eight members of a firearms black-marketeering group, the investigations department of the town court is completing its investigation and interrogation of witnesses. Following the exposure of the groups of arms merchants, they spoke to the investigative judge, stating that the weapons apprehended in their possession came into our Republic from the Republic of Serbia.

Father and Son

The investigation conducted so far indicates that it is a question of a group of eight black marketeers from Skopje and from Gorno Orizari Village in the Skopje area. Thus, for the time being, the following are detained in the Skopje investigative jail: Pavle Srepfler (46), Srboljub Cvetkovic (32), Ljuben Mladenov (35), Seladin Tjaili (51), Ivan Rangelov (47), Mitko Jovevski (47), Mitko Jovevski's son Goran Jovevski, and Vukoje Djordjevic (30). All of them are suspected of the crime of illegal possession of arms or explosives.

The investigation conducted thus far, and the evidence, indicate that from May of last year to last March, the first suspect, Pavle Srepfler, acquired a substantial amount of weapons, which he sold to suspect Srboljub Cvetkovic. The weapons are as follows: one automatic rifle Kalashnikov, 7.62mm caliber; three Scorpio revolvers, one "Red Banner" revolver, 7.65mm caliber, an M-57 7.62mm caliber pistol, and one 9mm Uzi automatic weapon.

Furthermore, one day last March, Cvetkovic, Mladenov, father and son Mitko and Goran Jovevski, and Vukoje Djordjevic sold to the imam from Rasce Village near Skopje, Nuri N., an automatic 7.62mm Kalashnikov weapon, for 1,800 German marks; and an Uzi automatic weapon with a silencer and 119 pieces of ammunition, for 3,200 marks. Following the exposure of the group, firearms were found in the home of Ljuben Mladenov.

Armory in Vranje

The third case to be tried by the township public prosecutor in Skopje involves Srboljub Cvetkovic and Ljuben Mladenov who, in the course of last year and this year repeatedly visited Vranje (Yugoslavia), where they illegally acquired firearms. Subsequently, together with Vukoje Djordjevic, they resold the weapons to several "customers."

Their first customer was Seladin Tjaili, who bought a Magnum 357 revolver for 1,000 German marks; two 7.62mm M-57 revolvers, for 1,850 marks; a 7.62mm PP automatic rifle for 1,000 marks; and one Scorpio for 1,300 German marks, and a "refashioned" 7.65-caliber revolver for 800 marks. Suspect Ivan Rangelov bought two Scorpio revolvers for 1,300 German marks; one "Red Flag" automatic rifle, 7.62mm caliber; and corresponding ammunition. Izeir N. from Blace Village, bought a CZ 7.65mm revolver for 800 marks, and paid another 700 German marks for an M-57 (7.62mm) revolver. Kire P. paid 1,000 German marks for a CZ-99, popularly known as the "long nine." Zoran B. paid 700 German marks for an M-48 rifle.

This group of suspects will be kept in the investigative jail until the ninth of next month, when the 30-day jail term expires, as stipulated by the investigative judge of the Skopje II township court in Skopje.

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Federal

Jovanovic Urges 'More Realistic' Stand by U.S.

LD2504204695 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2004 GMT 25 Apr 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, April 25 (TANJUG)—Yugoslav Foreign Minister Vladislav Jovanovic said Tuesday [25 April] that Yugoslavia expected the U.S. Congress to take a more realistic and objective stand on Yugoslavia and the Serb side as a whole.

A government statement quoted Jovanovic as saying in a talk with James Moran, Democrat Congressman from Virginia and member of the House of Representatives Foreign Affairs Committee, that all parties to the conflict in the former Yugoslavia should be treated equally.

Jovanovic described as harmful and counterproductive Senator Bob Dole's move for a unilateral exemption of the Bosnian Muslims from the 1991 U.N. arms ban on all of the former Yugoslavia and the bill proposed by Congressman Ben Gilman that backed secessionist goals of ethnic Albanians in Kosovo and Metohija. Such moves are a serious obstacle to the promotion of bilateral relations and suit extremists and those who are against peace and stability in the region, he said. A strong ethnic Albanian separatist movement has been active in Serbia's southern province of Kosovo and Metohija for decades. The movement's goal is to detach the province from Serbia and Yugoslavia and to annex it to Albania.

Jovanovic said it was wrongful and untenable to further maintain sanctions against Yugoslavia, which he said affected most children, the ill, the elderly and refugees and which were an increasing burden to other countries in the region, too. The statement also said Yugoslavia's role in and contribution to the peace process for the former Yugoslavia had been praised in the talks.

Kontic Accuses UN of Double Standards

LD2504135295 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1213 GMT 25 Apr 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Budva, 25 Apr (TANJUG)—Federal Prime Minister Radoje Kontic said today in Budva that the latest UN Security Council resolution on suspending sanctions against the FRY [Federal Republic of Yugosalvia] is a provocation to our country, while discrediting our peace policy and encouraging all those forces that advocate a war option in resolving the Bosnia-Herzegovina crisis.

Opening the Mediterranean Tourist Fair, which has attracted about 100 exhibitors, he said that the resolution is a continuation of blackmail and pressures from certain foreign factors and a manipulation of the UN Security Council as well as a failure to respect reports by the cochairmen of the conference on the former Yugoslavia who hold their cooperation with our country in high regard.

Kontic added that this in effect risks the viability and justification of the mission's further activities on the territory of the FRY.

"By convincingly demonstrating its firm commitment to a political solution to the Yugoslav crisis and meeting all the conditions under Resolution 757, the FRY has deserved the total lifting of sanctions rather than just a partial suspension for a limited period of time," the prime minister stressed.

Kontic noted with regret that the scenario that has been seen on so many occasions is being used again this time. "Whenever there is a prospect for peace or whenever our country demonstrates its goodwill there is some serious incident which is regularly attributed to the Serbian side alone," he said.

"It happened again in the case of the alleged helicopter flights across our border from the direction of former Bosnia-Herzegovina which have not been officially proven or confirmed by the monitoring mission," the prime minister said. He added that at the same time the facts exist to prove illegal deliveries of weapons to the Muslim side but that the UN Security Council showed no interest in them. "These are really strange standards," Kontic said.

"The FRY is not prepared to and it cannot tolerate constant provocations and unprincipled demands by certain foreign players. It also cannot accept the policy of blackmail and pressure in resolving regional conflicts," Kontic said.

"We have been forced to energetically reject such demands and the protagonists of this policy will bear the responsibility for all negative consequences for the peace process," Kontic said.

Ukraine Ready To Help Lift Sanctions

LD2504221395 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2043 GMT 25 Apr 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Kiev, April 25 (TANJUG)—Ukraine's First Deputy Prime Minister for Agriculture Petr Sablyuk on Tuesday told Yugoslav Ambassador in Kiev Gojko Dapcevic that Ukraine, together with other countries that felt the same, was ready to help lift the sanctions against Yugoslavia.

Sablyuk said the sanctions against Yugoslavia affected badly other countries, too, including Ukraine. Ukraine and Yugoslavia are complementary countries as regards their economic resources and can therefore set up joint companies and joint production in a large number of production segments, and put their goods on third markets, he said.

Sablyuk spoke highly of Yugoslav food producers, which he said had acquired a good name with their activities to date on the Ukrainian market.

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Economic Output Increased in First Quarter

LD2504162095 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1606 GMT 25 Apr 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, April 25 (TANJUG)—Industrial production in Yugoslavia increased by 20.3 per cent in the first quarter of 1995 as against the same period last year, President of the Yugoslav Chamber of Commerce Mihajlo Milojevic said Tuesday.

Milojevic told a session of the governing board of the chamber of commerce that a drop in production had been registered only in the sectors of shipbuilding, leather footwear, leather goods and oil production.

The economy of the Yugoslav Federation of Serbia and Montenegro, which has been under an international economic blockade for three years, first showed signs of recovery after an economic stabilization programme was launched last year. The programme of economic recovery and monetary reform was adopted at a time when Yugoslavia's economy was facing total collapse and its galloping inflation had exceeded all world records.

Serbia

Mladic Seeks Logistic Support From Milosevic

AU2504134295 Belgrade NASA BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 24 Apr 95 p 2

[BETA report: "Mladic in Belgrade, Muslims on Mt. Treskavica"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Belgrade, Banja Luka, Pale—The visit by General Ratko Mladic, Bosnian Serb army commander, to Belgrade, and his talks with Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic remain shrouded in mystery.

At the news conference in Pale on 22 April Bosnian Serb leader Radovan Karadzic gave no details about this.

As BETA has found out, the political leadership of the Bosnian Serbs in Pale was not informed about Mladic's trip to Belgrade. What is certain is that he did not show up in Pale on Saturday.

"I know nothing about that. It is usual for the army commander to have contacts in Belgrade. Mladic is still not back, but I suppose he has taken advantage of his trip to Belgrade to visit his family, which lives there," an official, who wished to remain anonymous, said.

Sources close to the Bosnian Serbs in Belgrade have confirmed to BETA that the political leadership of the Srpska republic has been making intense efforts to reach Gen. Mladic, but to no avail. Mladic's sudden visit to Belgrade has been linked to his strategic assessment that his army will lose if the war continues and if Belgrade does not offer more significant support.

Clashes on almost all the Bosnian fronts are intensifying simultaneously with the controversies surrounding Mladic's visit to Belgrade.

As BETA has learned from sources close to the Bosnian Serb military command, Muslim forces have made significant gains on Mt. Treskavica, south of Sarajevo. They have pushed the Serb units from a wide area on that mountain, and have come close to the important Sarajevo-Foca Road. There is no information as to the possible casualties.

According to the sources close to the Bosnian Serbs, if Mladic is to stop the advance by the obviously strengthened, and better armed and trained Muslim-Croat Army, he needs not only logistical support but also the help of elite units.

"We with our 'workers' battalions' cannot effectively resist the elite and well trained mercenary army of the Republic of Croatia. Top professionals are needed for that," a high ranking Serb officer told BETA.

Karadzic is obviously facing a very tough decision. He could use his constitutional authority and dismiss Mladic, but it is clear that he has that right on paper alone, since the political leadership would not last long if they were to move in on the army commander.

The other option is to soften the attitude toward the Contact Group peace plan, and thus also soften Milosevic, so securing the logistical and other support that Mladic needs.

Opposition Party Says UN Sanctions 'Hazardous'

LD2504221295 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2152 GMT 25 Apr 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, April 25 (TANJUG)—The Serbian Renewal Movement on Tuesday described as hazardous and unprincipled U.N. Resolution 988, under which the suspension of selected sanctions against Yugoslavia had been extended for 75 instead 100 days.

The Serbian Renewal Movement is a major partner in the opposition coalition in the Serbian parliament. Party spokesman Ivan Kovacevic said at a news conference that the resolution was hazardous because it encouraged both those in the former Yugoslavia's war zones who urged war and 'the war lobby in Serbia that has already made exultant comments.'

The resolution is unprincipled because all reports to date submitted to the U.N. Security Council on the situation on the Yugoslav border with the Bosnian Serb Republic, have been positive and have asked that the suspension be extended for another 100 days, he said.

The U.N. Security Council suspended the sanctions banning air and ferry traffic, sports and cultural links, for 100 days on Oct. 5, after the Yugoslav Government

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severed all links with the Bosnian Serbs, closing the common border for all but relief aid deliveries.

The Yugoslav Government's decision was prompted by the Bosnian Serbs' refusal to accept the 'Contact Group' plan for the territorial division of Bosnia-Herzegovina, proposed last July. The U.N. Security Council extended the suspension for another 100 days in mid-January, but on April 21 it shortened the extension period to 75 days.

International Experts To Probe Helicopter Flights

AU2504133595 Paris AFP in English 1253 GMT 25 Apr 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, April 25 (AFP)—Four international experts are to begin an inquiry here this week into reports of helicopter flights between Serbia and Bosnia, violating the UN's no-fly rules, a spokesman for the international peace mission on ex-Yugoslavia said Tuesday [25 April].

Spokesman Geoff Gartshore said the experts from Britain, France, Russia and the United States would work with Yugoslav officials to investigate the helicopter flights which have shown up on radar at Belgrade airport in recent weeks.

"It's a two-week mission during which these experts would look into traces of possible helicopter flights detected on radar," Gartshore said.

UN observers said there have been 26 helicopter flights between Bosnia and Serbia since early March, fuelling suspicion that Belgrade was breaking its own self-imposed embargo on its former Bosnian Serb allies. The UN Security Council on Friday extended economic sanctions on rump Yugosalvia (Serbia and Montenegro) for a further 75 days.

The Council made its decision on the advice of the two co-chairmen of the International Conference on the former Yugoslavia, David Owen and Thorvald Stoltenberg, who said they could not determine the origin of the helicopter flights. The four experts are to compile a report for the conference co-chairmen, as well as for the Serbian authorities, Gartshore said.

The experts will be under the command of the conference's special envoy to Montenegro, Britian's General Ian McLoud. The spokesman said that meanwhile some 150 civilian observers will continue to monitor the border between Serbia and its former Bosnian Serb allies in Bosnia.

Mark Exchange Rate 'Wild' for Psychological Reasons

95BA0213B Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 28 Mar 95 p 9

[Article by B. Dumic: "The 'Wildness' of the German Mark Is Psychological"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The sudden jump in the exchange rate of the mark on the black market has disturbed everyone, above all ordinary citizens who are afraid that this will pull up prices as well.

Once again, therefore, people are asking who caused the interference on the black market? Money channels are often difficult to understand, which is why there are differing interpretations as to who disturbed the dinar and how it was done. For the present, however, it is quite certain, and everyone agrees on this, both the bankers and the economists, that the psychological factor had the largest share in the most recent jump of the German mark on the black market.

In addition to the decisive psychological reason, the jump in the mark might also have been affected, as stated by Ljubomir Mihajlovic, president of Komercijalna Banka, by the payment to the peasants for last year's agricultural products. Aside from that, according to him, merchants importing goods are also incorporating into the price a higher exchange rate, which is mainly why they do not care how much the mark costs. The exchange rate is also influenced, he added, by the high customs charges, which at this moment are on a par with export incentives.

How much cash did agricultural producers receive last week, and did they immediately rush out to buy foreign exchange, or did they use that money to buy the products necessary for the spring planting? It is difficult to get a precise figure, but from what we have learned unofficially, total debt amounts to about 20 million dinars.

Agrobanka, which finances about 35 percent of the country's total agricultural sector, has paid out a total of 9.3 million dinars to farmers since 5 March and up through yesterday. On Friday alone, that is, the last day of last week, 520,000 dinars were paid out for last year's purchases of sugar beets, grapes, and tobacco. That money, says Milomir Obradovic, director of the loan department in Agrobanka, certainly could not have been the cause of the wildness in the exchange rate of the mark.

Vojvodjanska Banka, which also issues credit to finance a considerable part of agriculture, has not been paying out cash recently. On no basis have we been issuing cash either to the large collectives or private farmers, says Andras Mesaros, executive director of Vojvodjanska Banka in Novi Sad. He also adds that his bank does not account for even 10 percent of last year's entire debt to the farmers.

One of the reasons indicating that the banks have been unable to buy marks lies in the fact that in the last 10 days or so none of them have had more than some 30 million dinars in giro accounts. But there is also another truth to which bankers have been pointing for months: Almost half of the total money supply is in cash and outside legal banking channels. So, more than 1 billion of

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the total, which is about 2.4 billion dinars, is every day "straying" who knows where.

It is high time, therefore, that all monitoring agencies in the country, says Ljubomir Mihajlovic, president of Komercijalna Banka, discover who is speculating with dinars and undermining the program which is crucial to the future of all of us.

Minister Tomic: No Devaluation of Dinar

95BA0213A Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 28 Mar 95 pp 1, 9

[Unattributed article: "No Devaluation of the Dinar"]

[FBIS Translated Text] A meeting was held yesterday in Belgrade of the chairmen of all the sectoral coordinating teams to examine the current economic situation in the Republic. The meeting was chaired by Dragan Tomic, coordinating minister in the government of the Republic of Serbia and chairman of the central coordinating team for economic recovery. On that occasion Minister Tomic presented the resolute position of the government of the Republic of Serbia that there will be no devaluation of the dinar. Producer prices must not rise because of sudden changes in the illegal exchange rate of the dinar, because it cannot raise product production costs significantly. For that matter, foreign currencies on the illegal market are not a source for paying for imported production supplies.

In connection with wages and salaries, Minister Tomic emphasized that their possible rise must be strictly related to the growth of production and an effective mechanism must be found for monitoring observance of that principle.

The chairmen of the sectoral [original reads "city"] teams fully supported the positions of the government.

Business executives have favored adoption of measures that would help to increase exports appreciably over last year's level, which would equalize the supply and demand for foreign exchange and would guarantee stability of the exchange rate. They judged that under present circumstances significant export transactions can be concluded if there is an appropriate selective export incentive policy. This pertains above all to redirecting the amount of credit already earmarked for production to that part of the economy capable of realizing successful export transactions and also to production which has assured sales on the domestic market.

The business executives also expressed unanimous willingness to fully carry out the programmatic commitments of the government, stated the press release of the Ministry for Information of the Republic of Serbia.

Parliament Majority Supports Government Report

95BA0213C Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 30 Mar 95 p 13

[Article by Ivana Anojcic and Rade Rankovic: "Caucuses of the Parliamentary Majority Are Supporting the Government's Report"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Veselin Pavicevic (DEPOS [Democratic Movement of Serbia]), expressed a separate opinion in the Health Committee, taking the view that the section of the report on health care was incomplete and mostly glossed over everything that is wrong. The deputy emphasized that the situation in health care is critical, because the hospitals are poorly equipped and physicians' salaries are low.

Milorad Vucelic, chairman of the SPS [Socialist Party of Serbia] caucus, said that there is no need to prove that this government has exceptional results, and he expressed great satisfaction that it had submitted a report on its first year. "The government has managed to achieve the objectives which it set itself, because it has quality people and the support of the public," the deputy said, emphasizing that it had been particularly effective in realizing the peace policy, in reconstruction of the monetary system and the country's economic recovery, and in the functioning of the law-governed state. He also pointed to a new phenomenon, which is that while the Serbs are sending aid across the Drina, certain opposition leaders are also going there to turn some profit, beating the drum for a continuation of a war which would mean casualties for someone else. Summing up the government's achievements, Vucelic said that a record wheat harvest was brought in last year, that it is now attempting to combat the gray economy and the scalping raids on the exchange rate of the dinar.... Vucelic concluded by saying that the SPS caucus gives full support to the prime ministers' report.

The Basis for Further Support

Zarko Jokanovic, chairman of the ND [New Democracy] caucus, said that the caucus accepts the government's report, because it has basically achieved the objectives in its program. "This government has thereby done what was required for me to change my vote from an abstention when it was elected to a vote in favor," the deputy explained, adding that the government has shown itself to be good at resolving current economic problems, and that affords the basis for further support. Jokanovic said that the confidence which business and the public have in the government depends on the stability of the dinar, and that is why the government should act preventively. The ND caucus proposed a cut in taxes and contributions, economic growth, and reform of the tax system. New Democracy favors a radical reform of health care, the deputy mentioned, praising at the same time the "Year of Culture" campaign and observing that in that year there was not a single new ballet production and that the management of the National Theater ought to speak up about it.

Jorgovanka Tabakovic spoke on behalf of the caucus of the SRS [Serbian Radical Party], and she said that the budget deficit is certainly not above suspicion. "Although some journalists say that it does not exist, how is it that some economists say that it amounts to 310 million?" She then spoke about the concealed deficits

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created under this government through nonrepayment of loans, losses of public firms, and the loss on exchange rate differences, because the National Bank is still selling foreign exchange to the chosen few at a ratio of 1:1, she explained.

Zoran Djindjic, chairman of the caucus of the DS [Democratic Party], praised the government decision to present the report, but he also equated it with a budget ministry, which exists in certain countries. "The government has not performed poorly concerning the budget," the deputy explained, but its overall activity should not have been confined to that domain. After all, under the Constitution the government conducts the policy of Serbia and the budget is only a small part of that, the deputy said, adding that the government has not been concerned with policy, because it has not been allowed to do so, but it is certainly at fault on that account. Djindjic said that business conditions have continued to be risky and that financial transactions are the most lucrative, adding that socialized property and state property are being protected as a "sacred cow" and that today it is more difficult to engage in private business than it was five years ago. "The government has made it possible to reduce the exchange to an exchange of permits," the deputy concluded, and he added that it has done nothing to get us an effective government administration. Djindjic judged that the biggest monopolists are sitting right in the government, and he noted that we are the only country in the world that has no personal savings. He concluded that the DS would support the government if it sponsored laws on privatization and pension funds.

Vuk Draskovic, chairman of the caucus of the SPO [Serbian Renewal Movement], said that this government has not been a national unity government for a single minute, but a service of the SPS, and he accused it of behaving as though its duty was to reject all the proposals of the opposition. "The citizens of Serbia see everything and will not forget its mercilessness in the next election," he said, explaining that the opposition serves only as a decoration of a multiparty system that does not in fact exist. "I am ashamed to be sitting here, and we will be putting that question in our main committee," the deputy said.

The Opposition as a Decoration

Draskovic said that the hands of private entrepreneurs are tied, that the lines in front of embassies are getting longer and longer, that prisons in the West are more luxurious than our medical clinics, that the police system is excessively large, that 90 percent of the population is living in misery, while war profiteers are everywhere and inflation is on the horizon. He asked why the report does not contain the names of ministers and directors who have announced a devaluation and undertaken to destroy the value of the dinar? Draskovic emphasized that wise and brave decisions must be made so that the sanctions are removed from us, explaining that never in our history have there been so many people devoid of understanding—"those same people who are agitating for war are telling us here that our pensioners are hungry and the farmers do not have fertilizer," he said. Draskovic then asked whether the dinar would be stable if there were war and could we defeat the entire world, concluding that Serbia is in great danger and that "we must save it."

Prime Minister Mirko Marjanovic asked for the floor before the intermission. He asked Draskovic to remain in the chamber after the intermission, when he would be speaking. "Mr. Draskovic, do not run away. It is your habit to run away and change your positions now this way, now that way. To prevent that from happening, please stay here and do not be afraid, Serbia is not going to ruin, even though you are of no help whatsoever."

According to Dr. Vojislav Kostunica, chairman of the caucus of the DSS [Democratic Party of Serbia], reality is altogether different than represented by the prime minister in his report. The report makes no mention of problems in agriculture, pensions, old savings, electric power, the exchange rate of the dinar, the alleged growth of production, the daily deaths in the street.... "The report is like the Potemkin villages."

Kostunica alluded to the other government report, the one about the gray economy, in which the figures were altogether different, in which the picture was fairly gloomy, and which talked about high unemployment, the failure of the system to adapt, and the rise of the exchange rate.

The DSS leader noted that the report is not written in the past tense, but rather in the future tense, like a kind of program. He criticized the prime minister's words that there had been certain delays and difficulties in the payment of pensions, as the pensioners themselves know best, when they did not receive even those small pensions on time, but in several installments. He said that the report also contains sections which do not square with the truth—for example, that all the debts were paid to the farmers.

He was also critical that there are not many figures in the report, and when there are, they only make things confusing. Kostunica gave as an example Marjanovic's figure that the number of unemployed had dropped by 1.7 percent, but no mention was made of how many unemployed there are. Or when the prime minister, according to Kostunica, said that there had been an increase in the number of cases solved by the Ministry of Internal Affairs, with no broader explanations as to what kind of cases are involved, and that therefore the government cannot enjoy the confidence of the deputies.

Just as it is every time when the government and its work are taken up by the Assembly, so again yesterday the two sides of the chamber were polarized to the maximum. At the same time, the deputies in the rows of the incumbent

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party were not sparing in words of praise for the government's achievements, while on the other side the opposition deputies expressed a great deal of criticism.

Whereas, in the opinion of Stevo Dragisic (SRS), the ratio between the dinar and the mark says most about the "successes" of the government ("A few days ago, you intentionally devalued the dinar in order to destroy the value of the money which you gave to the farmers"), Gorica Gajevic (SPS) said that the best report on the effort of the government is the situation in our enterprises, hospitals, schools, and parks, the life we are living now compared to the life we lived a year ago. The effort of the government must be given a favorable grade, Gorica Gajevic continued, and she said that hyperinflation had been broken, that the law-governed state and public safety had been strengthened, and that aid had still been sent to the RS [Srpska republic] and RSK [republic of Serbian Krajina].

Aside from everything else, she addressed the deputies in the opposition who had spoken against the SPS, reminding them that 97 of the 122 deputies on the right side had belonged to the LC [League of Communists], one out of every three had held some party position, and a dozen of them had applied to join the LC.

The Prime Minister's Response to the Criticism

In the meantime, a debate developed between Nada Popovic-Perisic, member of the government, and Slobodan Vuksanovic (DS). That is, the lady minister reproached Vuksanovic for what he had to say about culture, and he responded to Nada Popovic-Perisic that the problem ought to be solved in the SPS, not through a culture campaign, because Milorad Vucelic, director of Radio-TV Serbia, is at the same time a top party official who told him that his problem is that he will not consent to the success of anything being done by the government and the SPS.

Vuksanovic said in response that the lady minister is a member of the SPS, but that she does not resemble the SPS, and that is precisely the problem. After all, he explained, the culture campaign cannot succeed because it means fighting the radio and TV stations which are headed by none other than people from the SPS.

Dr. Bora Kuzmanovic (DS) said that the people do not have confidence in the state—as is evident from the amount of personal savings, the way people cursed when they redeemed the bonds of the Loan for Rebirth of Serbia, or a few days ago when they attempted in panic to change money. He also reproached it for spending its capital, recalling the statement by the director of the Belgrade Sugar Mill, who said that this is being done "honorably, because it helps the program." He also asked whether by some chance there had been a change in the meaning of the word "stable," when the government is constantly boasting of the stable exchange rate, which is falling.

The concluding speech was delivered yesterday by Mirko Marjanovic in responding to numerous criticisms. Addressing Vuk Draskovic, he said that there is no way in which they can deny the figures in the report: Inflation is zero, prices are stable, and the standard of living is rising. The program of Governor Avramovic has been added to, and as for Draskovic's remarks about the rise of crime, he recalled that it was at the request of the SPO that the government removed the officials of Stari Grad Opstina because of the many scandals.

Nor, the prime minister said, is it true that the government has been avoiding the debate on agriculture, the fuel and power industry, and pensions—everything it had to say, the government has said in the report, and let deputies who think otherwise present their specific proposals in this debate.

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